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ABSTRACT

This essay examines the youth policies and programs of the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, Sweden, and Norway in an effort to provide examples that may be of assistance in the development of such policies in the United States. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the topic, noting that the focus is on younger adolescents between the ages of 10 and 15, especially those in high risk or at-risk environments, and that the central themes are youth development, youth as participants, and the formation of "human capital." Chapter 2 summarizes youth policies and services in the five nations considered, examining historical contexts, goals, structures, policies, funding, and youth workers. Chapter 3 examines the dimensions of youth services on a supranational and thematic basis, considering: (1) purposes and goals; (2) policies and programs; (3) structure and finance; (4) youth workers and training; and (5) information and research. Chapter 4 makes recommendations relevant to youth policies and programs in the United States in these five categories. It is noted that policies and programs in the five countries studied tend to be developmental, broadly based, inclusive, and participative, whereas U.S. youth policy is more oriented toward remediation of individual difficulties than broad development and socialization. (Contains 116 references.) (MDM)

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COMMUNITY-BASED YOUTH SERVICES

in International Perspective

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COMMUNITY-BASED YOUTH SERVICES in International Perspective

MICHAEL SHERRADEN

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INTRODUCTION

THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT AND THE William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Citizenship and Family are pleased to share Professor Michael Sherraden's thought-provoking paper, **Community-Based Youth Services in International Perspective**. Our two study groups have worked closely with other organizations over the past several years to develop informed public and social policies on such critical adolescent issues as schooling, service-learning, health, and the transition to employment. Our work has led both organizations to recognize the value derived from the experiences of our colleagues in other countries.

The Carnegie Council commissioned Sherraden to write this paper as part of its Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs. This effort is a study of American youth organizations that is directed toward expanding the scope and availability of developmentally-appropriate, community-based services for young adolescents (ages 10–15). Specific attention is focussed on those adolescents living in low-income and poverty environments. A national report on the current work and future contribution of this country's youth organizations in promoting healthy adolescent development will be published later this year. The report will offer programmatic, policy, and funding recommendations directed toward these ends.

The Grant Foundation Commission has frequently looked to other countries for working models as it has sought to improve education and training programs for American youth. In *The Forgotten Half*, we called attention to the unmet needs of young people ages 16–24, particularly as they prepare to enter the U.S. labor force. In subsequent publications, we highlighted the need for more systematic approaches to the delivery of human services. In all of this work we have struggled to understand what is missing from current public policy in our country and to identify the critical elements that would constitute youth-friendly policy in the future.

Sherraden offers us several ways of thinking about youth policy and practice. His perceptive examination of how youth policy has been constructed and implemented in five developed countries (the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, Sweden, and Norway) includes an analysis of transferable lessons for the United States. We hope you will find that his paper presents a rich set of ideas that warrant serious consideration in policy arenas throughout our country.

We thank Jane Quinn, Project Director of the Carnegie Council's Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs, for her contribution to the commissioning and conceptualization of this paper. Finally, we thank the 16 cooperating organizations who are identified on the cover of this paper. They represent many of the "grassroots" designers and implementers of public policy who believe, as we do, that Sherraden's work can point to a healthier future for America's youth and young families than they currently face.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS PAPER COVERS A LOT OF GROUND. TO DISCUSS YOUTH SERVICES in only one country is a challenge. To include multiple countries and make cross-national comparisons is an almost daunting task. Given the scope of the subject matter, and the large number of countries that might be considered, I acknowledge at the outset that one essay cannot do everything. Nor perhaps would that be desirable. Because of the sheer amount of information, focusing on key points in selected countries is probably a more effective approach. Therefore, I have opted for a few countries, attention to noteworthy examples, and consideration of some of the most interesting possibilities for the United States.

By way of further disclaimer, permit me to say that the project did not allow for international travel. Therefore, I have relied extensively on published studies and reports from various libraries and collections, previous international experience and observations, and contacts with colleagues abroad.

A number of people, both in the United States and other countries, have provided information, publications, and suggestions. I would like to thank Jon Alexander, Stanley Bendet, Hans Berglind, Tom Ter Bogt, Erling Bjurstrom, Paul Czene, Polly Dement, Donald Eberly, Judith Erickson, Benny Henriksson, Igor Ilinsky, Gareth Jones, Britta Jonsson, Ludwig Liegle, Sharon McKay, Geoff Pawson, Rosemary Sarri, Bill Seary, Carol Telford, David Utting, and Keith Windschuttle. Thanks also to my research assistant, Craig Gaspard, who summarized a number of publications.

A special word of appreciation goes to William Treanor of the American Youth Work Center. Bill has collected what is probably the best international library on youth work in the United States. He has been generous in sharing these materials as well as observations based on his international experience in the youth work field.

I also acknowledge the cordial guidance of Jane Quinn, Project Director of the Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development. She has offered several very helpful suggestions. In addition, Judith Torney-Purta, a member of the Task Force, and Ruby Takanishi, Executive Director of the Council, provided comments and suggestions on earlier drafts. A discussion with the full Task Force in New York was also very helpful.

Michael Sherraden

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

YOUTH POLICIES AND PROGRAMS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, Australia, Germany, Sweden, and Norway are examined in this essay. The purpose is to provide examples that may be informative for youth policy development in the United States. The focus is on community-based services for younger adolescents, roughly 10 to 15 year olds, especially those in "high risk" or "at risk" environments. This focus is in keeping with the overall goals of the Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development.

The content of youth policies and programs in the five countries studied tends to be developmental, broadly based, inclusive, and participative. In contrast, U.S. youth policy is more oriented toward remediation of individual difficulties rather than broad development and socialization. Voluntary sector youth services in the United States are much more oriented toward normal development, but access to scouting, sports teams, summer camps, and the like is very uneven. Poor and minority communities are typically underserved.

In Western Europe an effort is made to promote positive youth development by providing a strong foundation of local organizations, arts centers, sports teams, ecology clubs, and the like. Clubs and organized activities are a vehicle for young people to take on challenging roles and develop relationships with peers, older youths, and adults. At its best, as in Norway, this foundation of youth activities forms not merely a safety net, but a thick tapestry of youth programs and involvements available to all youth.

A key observation in looking at the five countries in this study is that the government of each has identified youth issues as a broad public responsibility, established a legal and organizational structure within which to carry out that responsibility, and appropriated funds at a significant level and on a stable basis to carry out youth policies and programs. In some cases, federal funding has not been the majority funding, but it has been substantial enough to leverage local and voluntary resources and create youth service partnerships guided by federal policy but adapted and implemented by local actors, both public and voluntary.

The United States has a vibrant voluntary sector but in terms of planning and coordination, it is largely independent of the public sector. In contrast, youth policies in all five countries in this study involve explicit public-voluntary cooperation and coordination to an extent unknown in the United States. Coordination occurs through both law and organizational structure.

In each of the five countries studied, and many others in Europe, there are local youth boards that, in one way or another, are charged with implementing or overseeing public and voluntary youth services. Generally, these local bodies also provide significant financial support.

Realistically, we probably cannot expect the U.S. government, at least in the near future, to appropriate extensive new funding for youth development policy. However, we can question whether the existing pattern of U.S. expenditures is wise. A portion of the funding that now goes to deviance and deficiencies would be better spent on general developmental youth services, making a greater effort to establish youth programs in every neighborhood and community in the country. The guiding principle should not be money for every problem, but programs for every community.

In order to do this, small federal expenditures, if stable over the long term, could be used to stimulate and leverage state and local public participation, as well as partnerships with the voluntary sector. What is needed is a stable, reliable source of public funding, such as a fixed percentage of educational or other public expenditures, as occurs in some countries, so that effective local programming can become part of the community fabric.

Ideally, like many other Western nations, the United States would develop a national perspective on youth professionals and establish educational standards defining a youth work training curriculum. However, in looking at other countries, the content of this curriculum remains largely undefined, and there are many opinions about what it should be. This study does not give a clear picture

of what youth workers should know and be able to do. And doing something distinctively well is, after all, the primary rationale for the existence of a profession.

Not surprisingly, there is great turnover in child and youth work positions in the United States. Development of direct practice career ladders with increasing responsibility, recognition, and compensation will be essential if youth work is to overcome rapid turnover. In this regard, we have something to learn from Germany, the United Kingdom, and Sweden.

Turning to non-degree training, interesting possibilities are presented in looking at other countries. To meet a wide variety of pre-service and in-service training needs, youth work educational programs should address the needs of part-time adult learners at different skill levels and with different training needs.

There is very little research funding in the United States to study the wide range of community-based youth organizations—scouting, sports teams, arts centers, church groups, ecology clubs, and the like—that are so important at the community level in fostering healthy adolescent development. It would be difficult to overstate this problem. A researcher working in an urban area, for example, can more easily obtain a million dollars to study youth purse snatching than a thousand dollars to study youth theatre and dance groups. This is a misallocation of research dollars. Unfortunately, it becomes a vicious circle—the more we study problems, the more we spend on problems; and the less we study solutions, the less we spend on solutions. Youth research funding organizations, both public bodies and private foundations, should place a far greater emphasis on studying ordinary youth development and successful youth services. In this regard, we can learn a great deal from other countries.

Along these lines, we have several fine youth study centers in the United States oriented primarily toward youth problems, but we do not have many well-developed centers for youth services research. We should create more of the latter. For example, the Youth Education Studies Centre (YESC) in Australia provides a good model. The focus of the YESC is on ordinary youth development, longitudinal research, and applied, action-oriented studies.

Also, there is currently no satisfactory information network to make research readily available to practitioners and other researchers. It would be desirable for the United States, with its advanced communications capabilities, to assume a leadership position in developing such a network, both within our national borders and worldwide. Additional youth service magazines and journals are needed as well. Ideally, these would connect research with practice.

In the United States, a national movement toward a comprehensive youth policy should build on the widespread concern for education and development of human capital. In this regard, the concept of informal or experiential education, which is so prominent in European youth services, would be a worthwhile organizing theme for the United States. This strategy would involve greater connections and coordination with formal educational programs and facilities. Unlike some of the programs in Europe, however, the content of informal education in the United States, if it is to be accepted and funded, must be clearly defined and prove its worth in terms of skill development and active citizenship.

I

BEYOND OUR SHORES

AMERICANS DO NOT HAVE A MONOPOLY ON CREATIVITY. IN RECENT years, American business has learned this lesson the hard way, and in the human services we could perhaps benefit from a similar change in perspective. Regarding community-based youth services, many countries around the world are more innovative, more committed, and more successful than the United States.

The current period of reduced super-power conflict and increasing internationalization provides an excellent opportunity to look beyond our shores. In doing so, we might be able to understand young people and community-based youth services through the lenses of different cultures, policies, and programs. These multiple viewpoints can give us greater depth of perspective and enable us to see possibilities for improving youth services in the United States.

Focus of the Essay

Material in this essay is drawn from many countries, but primarily Western and "developed" countries that have more in common with the United States. The main focus is on the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, Sweden, and Norway, with occasional information from elsewhere. This is not to say that we cannot learn from "less developed" countries—on other occasions I have studied youth issues in Mexico, Costa Rica, and China—but this essay is more focused on the industrialized Western nations.

The objective of this essay is a greater transfer of experience and knowledge, and the approach is quite practical. We are looking for what works, how it works, and under what circumstances. With good fortune, creative solutions and successful programs might be adapted, in whole or in part, for application in the United States.

The focus is on younger adolescents, roughly 10 to 15 year olds, and especially those in "high risk" or "at risk" environments. This focus is in keeping with the overall goals of the Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development.

The phrase "at risk" is both an understatement and an overstatement. The young people we are talking about are not merely at risk, they are often in deep trouble. They live in dysfunctional families and in neighborhoods where there is little sense of community. They may be surrounded by ineffective social institutions. At the same time, when given an opportunity, these young people have strengths and energies that can be used to shape productive lives. They are not only "at risk" but also "at strength" (it is instructive that we do not have a common vocabulary to talk about this positive side of youth development). Young people, whatever their circumstances, have something to offer to themselves, their family, their community, and their world.

Although the topics are interrelated, this essay does not directly address particular youth problems, such as delinquency, dependency, teen pregnancy, or drug abuse. Nor does it address specialized youth services—such as juvenile justice, foster care, or mental health services. Rather, the focus is on generalized youth issues and youth services. The orientation is more developmental and less problem-focused.

Because we concentrate on younger adolescents, ages 10 to 15, we generally avoid issues of the youth labor market and accompanying services—job training, employment programs, and so forth. However, a strong argument can be made that the historic change in the youth labor market, notably the withdrawal of labor market opportunities for young people, is the underlying reason for the concept of "youth" itself and accompanying perception of "youth problems." Only 70 or 80 years ago, in most parts of the United States, an eighth grade education was the norm. At the age of 14 or 15, most people began to work and they were able to build satisfying lives. Today, this is no longer possible. Labor market success increasingly requires a college education or, at least, one or two years of employment-related postsecondary education. The long adolescent period and the anxieties and difficulties of the young are intimately connected to this fundamental change in the youth labor market (Sherraden, 1991a).

The task before us is to create institutions, services, and involvements that will enable young people to grow and develop through the teen and school years until they become independent adults. A key is to create genuine responsibilities and meaningful interactions outside of the traditional labor market. Young people, even 10 to 15 year olds, do better when they are genuine participants in the world and have something to contribute. In my view, this should be a guiding vision in thinking about "youth services."

Central Themes

It may be useful at the outset to acknowledge that this paper is written with a few basic themes in mind. These might be summarized under the headings of youth development, youth as participants, and formation of human capital.

Youth Development. In general, youth problems are increasing. More young people in the United States as well as Europe are growing up in single-parent families. There are deteriorating labor market trends, particularly for young people, in most industrialized nations. There are tighter restrictions on eligibility for social assistance in many countries. More people are homeless. "Self-excluding youth cultures" are expanding in many countries (Robbins and Room, 1990). The list could go on.

In the United States, youth services are organized primarily around these dysfunctions and pathologies. However, in this essay, we seek to move beyond particular difficulties and pathologies and look instead at more ordinary, nonpathological youth development. This is not to minimize difficulties, or suggest that they might go away if we ignore them (although this position occasionally has merit), but only to take a more generalized approach to the broad process of youth development.

Youth as Participants. As suggested above, young people need a way to fit into society as respected participants. "Fitting in," in this sense, refers to making genuine contributions in responsible roles. It explicitly includes more than services or activities to keep young people occupied and out of trouble. Therefore, a guiding theme of this essay is youth as participants in society (Pittman, 1991). Youth policy and programs should see young people as resources and engage their energies and skills. The themes of citizenship, commitment, and social functioning should be emphasized (Henriksson, 1983 and 1991; Calhoun, 1988; and Sherraden, 1991a). This viewpoint is consistent with the fundamental American values of social involvement and voluntarism, as well as the seemingly opposite, but very much related characteristics, individuality and independence.

Formation of Human Capital. The phrase "human capital" is a bit cold and mechanistic, but it does carry a clear and important meaning. The world is being rapidly transformed by science and technology, and the United States, if it is to remain competitive economically, must develop the talents of all of its young people. The period of early adolescence is particularly formative and provides an excellent opportunity for constructive interventions with life-long impact (Hamburg, 1989). In this sense, community-based youth services should be viewed as an investment in human capital development to improve the health, knowledge, skills, and social capacities of young people. This fundamental idea has been largely neglected in the United States. Instead, we tend to have a narrow view that human capital is developed through formal education alone. Nothing could be more short-sighted. Young people learn not only in schools, but in non-school activities as well. Indeed, because experiential learning (contrasted with traditional classroom learning) can have large impacts (Dewey, 1938; Conrad and Hedin, 1982; Kolb, 1984; Kraft and Kielsmeier, 1985; Sizer, 1992), the non-school hours may be particularly salient in consolidating and expanding knowledge and skills.

Outline of the Paper

In the sections that follow, we look first at the nature and characteristics of youth services in several countries. Following this, we turn to dimensions of youth services and compare and contrast the approaches of different countries. The dimensions considered in this essay are: purposes and goals, policies and programs, structure and finance, personnel and training, and information and research. In the final section, we turn to reflections and thoughts for the United States.

II

YOUTH SERVICES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

AT THE OUTSET, IT MAY BE HELPFUL TO SUMMARIZE YOUTH POLICIES and services in selected countries. The summaries that follow attempt to cover the main points and provide a general understanding of how different countries have approached youth issues.

The countries included here are the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, Sweden, and Norway. Obviously, these countries are not selected at random. Their cultures and level of economic development are in some respects similar to conditions in the United States. The four European countries have long histories of youth programming and significant public sector involvement. Australia is a bit more like the United States, reflecting European traditions but in a more frontier setting. Altogether, these five countries are selected because their experiences in youth services may be instructive for policy and program development in the United States. This is not to say that these five are the only important countries, nor necessarily the most important, but only to say that they provide examples that may be useful for our consideration.

The United Kingdom

Youth services in Western nations were, in key respects, initiated in England and adapted by other countries in Europe and eventually the United States. Therefore it is appropriate to begin with a review of youth services in the United Kingdom (in this discussion, "United Kingdom" refers primarily to England and Wales; Scotland and Northern Ireland have separate systems of youth services).

In the United Kingdom, youth service and youth work are integral parts of the social service system. The British Youth Service (BYS) is an organized, comprehensive system for delivering youth policy, built on a foundation of local youth clubs. The BYS plays a visible, respected role in society, and is supported by all political parties. The terms "youth worker" and "youth service" are well-known to the British public and used in everyday conversation.

There is a conscious effort by both public and private organizations to provide a wide range of non-school resources and opportunities intended to promote the transition to positive values and mature, self-sufficient adulthood (Treanor, 1990). Discourse about youth services is pervasive. The general orientation is developmental rather than deficit-oriented. Programming occurs primarily through an extensive system of youth clubs, which are generally viewed as social education. The clubs attempt to provide meaningful activities that will attract and hold young people's attention. There is a particular concern about "unattached youth," that is, those not associated with a youth club.

History

The roots of British Youth Service began with the YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, and Boys Clubs. These were voluntary youth organizations pioneered by individuals concerned primarily with moral development. The object was to encourage young people to take part in socially acceptable activities providing a means of association, physical exercise, and regular living patterns, all of which were accompanied by religious overtones. The YMCA began in 1844, the Boys' Brigade in 1883, the Scouts in 1907, and the Guides in 1910. Mainstream youth services continued to be entirely in the voluntary sector until the late 1930s.

In 1939, at the beginning of World War II, the Board of Education took responsibility for youth welfare and issued an order to local authorities asking them to establish youth committees and cooperate with voluntary organizations in providing comprehensive youth services to young people between the ages of 14 and 21. Young people of both genders were to be represented on the committees. The central policy thrust took the form of youth

clubs with full-time or part-time paid leaders. Despite the War, there was a substantial expansion of youth club facilities. The Education Act of 1944 called upon the local education authorities to make provision for the Youth Service in their respective areas, in cooperation with voluntary organizations.

The British Youth Service has evolved and changed over time. The post-War period witnessed a significant expansion of the Youth Service and a period of general success. By the end of the 1950s, however, changes were occurring. Greater affluence was accompanied by a teenage culture that rejected traditional values. In 1958, the Albemarle Committee was formed to review the Youth Service in England and Wales. The Committee published its report in 1960, calling for a ten-year development plan that placed strong emphasis on training professional youth workers, on building youth centers, and on experimental activities to reach young people who were not interested in club activities. A Youth Service Development Council was set up to oversee these initiatives. As a result, 1000 youth workers were trained over the next decade at a new national college. New buildings were constructed. Experimental programming for troubled youth was initiated. During the 1960s, the voluntary organizations went through a similar period of reappraisal and renewal in their youth-serving efforts (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1986).

The 1970s brought increased economic and social problems in the inner cities, often intertwined with racial conflicts. The debate was initiated, and continues today, over whether the Youth Service should be primarily oriented toward major social problems, or oriented toward social development in a general sense. The Milson-Fairbairn report, *Youth and Community Work in the 70s*, gave an impetus to linking youth work with social problems and community development. Rising youth unemployment led youth workers to address this issue increasingly by the end of the 1970s.

A lack of direction and fragmentation spurred major reviews of the youth services in both England and Wales between 1980 and 1983. The report on England, *Experience and Participation*, was written by the Secretary of State for Education and Science in 1982. The review stressed the importance of extending the range of experiences for young people and giving them greater opportunities to participate in decision-making in their clubs and organizations. The report discussed the need for "political education" — the development of awareness that in a democracy it is possible for young people to influence the society in which they live and to have a say in how it is run. *Experience and Participation* also identified difficulties affecting a significant minority of young people—economic deprivation, homelessness, racial discrimination—as well as obstacles to personal development. The report stressed the need for better management and coordination, and a more effective partnership between the government and the voluntary sector. The Thatcher government responded by accepting a number of the recommendations, stressing the need for greater economic efficiency. As a result of the report, the National Advisory Council for the Youth Service for England and Wales was established, with young people serving on the Council. Among other activities, the Council has supported experiments in staff training and managerial innovation (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1986).

Activities of the Youth Service

Officially, the Youth Service forms part of the educational system. It is concerned with promoting personal development and social education through a diverse range of leisure time activities. The main programming is through the youth clubs, sometimes complemented by residential outdoor centers used for short rural experiences and conferences.

Special efforts are made to reach unattached or unaffiliated youth who avoid established programs. Generally, these efforts emanate from the youth clubs, sometimes with a detached youth worker who is oriented toward the streets (Treanor, 1990). In recent years, this detached or "project-based" work has become more common.

Youth Clubs UK is an umbrella organization with 730,000 members in approximately 6,500 clubs. The clubs engage in a wide range of activities. Examples include a program to bring physically disabled youth together with able-bodied youth, a program to look at the problem of solvent abuse (glue sniffing), a program to learn a skill through one-on-one tutoring by an experienced adult, and a travel program.

In the voluntary sector, the YMCA is the largest provider of sports and leisure facilities and hostel accommodations. It reaches 750,000 young people each year in England alone. Half of the membership is female. The YWCA also runs a variety of centers and special projects. The National Association of Boys' Clubs has 175,000 members ages 11 to 18 in 2,000 clubs. The Boys' Clubs place considerable emphasis on physical activities, particularly sports and adventure training. However, the arts are also encouraged, including drama, crafts, music, poetry, photography. Other youth-serving organizations include the Scouts and other uniformed groups, the Young Farmers' Club, church-based organizations, self help groups, and outdoor programs of various types (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1986).

In many of these organizations, but particularly in the youth clubs, counselling is provided by adult youth workers, both by telephone and in person.

Although the overall purpose of the Youth Service is general youth development, special populations are also identified. Some of the recognized "special challenges" of

youth service in the United Kingdom include unemployment, homelessness, alienation, drug abuse, multi-ethnic communities, handicapped young people, and rural youth. However, somewhat different from the United States, the emphasis in working with youth problem in the United Kingdom is decidedly developmental and preventive (e.g., National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders, 1991).

In matters of youth crime in the United Kingdom, there has been an ebb and flow of justice and welfare approaches. The welfare approach reached its peak in the late 1960s, when youth service professionals sought to have young teenagers dealt with in care proceedings rather than criminal proceedings. This resulted in a transfer of responsibility to social workers, a move strongly opposed by criminal justice authorities. Some believe that this only led to "widening of the net of social control," creating more places to put deviant young people (Farrington in Klein, 1984). In any case, both crime and placements increased during the 1970s and 1980s.

On the more positive side, service to the community is a long-established feature of the Youth Service and plays an important role in the activities of many youth clubs. There is a growing appreciation of the educational value of service to the community. Community service has been encouraged in recent years by the Duke of Edinburgh's Award, which honors community services activities in youth work. In these projects, volunteer coordinating services "match" young people with community needs. Among the best known organizations is Community Service Volunteers, which engages older teens and young adults, but there are other examples involving younger teens, including work with conservation organizations (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1986).

Organization of the Youth Service

In the United Kingdom, there is an explicit partnership between the statutory authorities and the voluntary sector. On the public side, the Youth Service Unit was established in the Ministry of Education and Science in an attempt to improve youth services. The National Youth Agency, created in April of 1991, has 80 staff members and acts as a resource center for England and Wales, providing information, publications, training, research, discussion forums, and action plans. It is funded mainly from government grants and produces systematic information and monthly periodicals, including *Young People Now*.

On the voluntary side, a National Advisory Council on Youth Services, composed of representatives of major youth organizations, provides advice to various ministries on the scale and direction of youth service activity. The Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work was created in 1982 (George, 1987). The National Youth Agency also provides a forum for young people through representatives from national voluntary organizations. The primary focus is on political education, participation, and citizenship. The National Youth Agency seeks to find ways for young people to participate in society, and also represents British youth internationally. Young people are represented on and sometimes run local youth councils, which are comprised of representatives from the various youth-serving voluntary organizations. A national association of youth councils is the National Youth Assembly, which convenes two conferences each year and coordinates certain national projects. Its officers are all young members of local councils and it is supported by two unpaid adult advisors.

As mentioned above, youth service programs operate through a network of youth clubs that specialize in various programs that reach most youth in the country. Local authorities run youth centers near schools, or sometimes in the school building itself. The emphasis is on sports and games, arts and crafts, and drama. Counselors and tutors are available (George, 1987). In a typical small city, the local youth officer holds a full-time position. A tapestry of other officials and citizens' committees help to plan youth activities to be carried out by both public and voluntary organizations. The local youth officer also helps to coordinate employment, corrections, and other specialized youth programs (Treanor, 1990).

Funding

The Youth Service is a cooperative endeavor between public and voluntary officials. The voluntary sector, in money and time, contributes some 90 percent of the total support for youth work (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1986). The national voluntary organizations receive grants from the central education departments for headquarters expenses, demonstration programs, and national building projects. Voluntary organizations meet a considerable portion of the expenses themselves through fundraising projects and member subscriptions. Contributions also come from various trusts and charities.

Youth work receives about 1.5 percent of the British education budget. Public grants are made for special programming for at-risk youth and international exchanges. Another source of financial support is the Sports Council, which makes grants and interest-free loans to local voluntary organizations for sports facilities. Local authorities provide facilities, equipment, and contribute somewhat to other direct costs.

Youth Workers

The post-World War II years witnessed the emergence of a professionalized Youth Service in the United King-

dom. The focus was on positive youth development under rapidly changing social and economic conditions.

The Youth Service is staffed by a small number of trained professionals who are supported by part-time paid and unpaid workers. It has attracted a talented pool of young adults as youth workers. Youth workers are trained in colleges. As a professional group, they are represented by unions in negotiating wages and working conditions, which is generally true in most of Western Europe (Treanor, 1990).

There are an estimated 500,000 part-time and voluntary workers "both qualified and unqualified" (certified and uncertified) in voluntary youth service alone. The ratio of full-time and paid staff to volunteers varies depending on the type of organization. Both genders are well represented in the Youth Service, but ethnic minorities are underrepresented (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1986).

The National Youth Agency, created in 1991, studies and promotes youth worker training. At present, training for full-time youth workers in England and Wales consists of a two-year basic course at certain universities and colleges of higher education, leading to the status of "qualified youth and community workers." Many of those entering training have already had some experience as voluntary workers. In addition, a number of teacher training programs have a youth and community work option, and there are also courses for graduates who wish to become youth workers. Initial and in-service courses are validated by the Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work, established in 1982. Salaries and conditions of service for full-time youth workers are recommended by the Joint Negotiating Committee for Youth Leaders and Community Centre Wardens, which is also responsible for setting the standards for qualified professional status (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1986).

In addition, training in counselling is offered in short courses run by the local Youth Service, adult education institutions, and national youth organizations. Several full-time counselling courses are also available.

Outlook

The recent history of the Youth Service in the United Kingdom suggests that it is declining. Especially under the Thatcher government, developments in social policy suggested that the British government may now see the Youth Service as secondary to their central concern, which is skill training. Possibly the Youth Service will continue to decline as a free-standing professional activity, although it may be retained in marginal form to respond to emerging youth issues. On the other hand, it appears that youth work connected with other institutional settings—schools, social work agencies, and counseling or advice services—is likely to continue to expand in the years ahead (Smith, 1988).

Australia

As part of the British Commonwealth, Australia has elements of youth service that are influenced by the United Kingdom, but also elements that reflect Australia's more individualistic history.

Goals and Directions

For the most part, youth work was organized much later in Australia than in Britain. Only scattered voluntary sector efforts, and very minimal public support, existed prior to the 1960s. Since that time, somewhat distinct periods of youth work can be identified.

During the 1960s, attention to youth issues gained strength under the general rubric of "youth empowerment." Empowerment was embraced at that time with "almost evangelical fervor" by many youth workers (Maunders, 1990).

However, it was not until 1977 that Australian youth were officially recognized as a special client group. Youth work became "youth affairs" and was institutionalized in the 1980s through government funding and explicit social justice policies. "Youth affairs" became a political construct and young people were viewed, for the first time, on a formal political level. There was official acceptance of the idea that young people had a right to participate in society (Cusack, 1990). However, in practice the nature of this participation has been limited, and there is skepticism among young people themselves about empowerment-oriented youth policy (Maunders, 1990).

Currently, there is much debate in Australia around economic and politicai aspects of youth unemployment, youth homelessness, income maintenance, and youth rights. Federal and state governments have been active in various initiatives to address these issues. Indeed, the primary focus has been at the policy level, without similar attention to direct services to troubled individuals (Australia is almost directly opposite the United States in this regard; see Ainsworth, 1990).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, it appears that the former emphasis on empowerment is being superceded by an "enterprise culture" in youth policy, which focuses on employment, business training, and self-sufficiency (Benjamin, 1989; Maunders, 1990).

Structure and Programs

Australia has a federal system of government with the states carrying major responsibility for child and youth policy and services, although there is some financial support from the central government. The Office of Youth Affairs (OYA) was set up by the commonwealth government in February 1977 in response to the findings of the

Study Group on Youth Affairs. The OYA is in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet and has responsibility for coordinating all commonwealth policies, programs, and proposals affecting young people.

The OYA includes a Program of Assistance to Youth Organisations, which, as the name implies, provides grants for projects to assist national youth organizations. The grants are intended to help the organizations extend services, broaden participation of young people, involve young people in management and decision-making, and improve planning and coordination. In addition to project related assistance, grants are also provided to help establish secretariats to support national youth organizations.

The OYA promotes youth service development to improve the quality, coordination, and relevance of youth services. A planned strategy includes developing effective methods of identifying youth needs, documenting and disseminating information on existing youth service mechanisms, testing new programs, and improving in-service training for youth workers.

The OYA also promotes international youth exchanges through an International Program, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. This is done through (1) government-to-government development programs aimed a increasing expertise in the youth service field; (2) grants to governmental and non-governmental organizations for international activities; (3) coordination with the Commonwealth Youth Program and other international organizations; and (4) responses to invitations from other governments.

During the International Youth Year (IYY) in 1985, which was observed more intensely in Australia than in the United States, OYA provided a secretariat to service the National IYY Coordinating Committee. The Coordinating Committee undertook activities such as the following:

- Set up hot lines with radio stations for young people to speak their minds about issues of concern (interestingly, much of the discussion was about community service projects proposed by the callers).
- Initiated representative councils in schools, and many local governments set up "junior councils" to advise them on youth affairs.
- Held meetings, marches, and conferences on peace and disarmament.
- Participated in international meetings and projects.

Before 1985, there was not much systematic information on young people, but Australia took the opportunity of IYY to change this situation. The Australian Bureau of Statistics produced its first *Youth Profile*, providing information on many aspects of young people's lives. The government also initiated a program to set up information outlets accessible to young people.

The Youth Affairs Council of Australia (YACA) was established in 1979 as a coalition of member forums, including the National Youth Council of Australia, the Conference of Australian Youth Organizations, the National Forum of State Youth Affairs Councils, and the Nationwide Workers With Youth Forum. Indeed, the official word is that "there is no YACA without its member forums." A management committee of 14 carries out the work of the Council. YACA acts as the voice for all issues of concern to young people and the youth field, particularly to national level organizations, including the commonwealth government, the private sector, unions, and the media. Through consultation with members and coordination with other organizations, YACA collates information and recommendations from conferences and produces discussion papers. Grants from the commonwealth government underwrite the core secretariat activities as well as projects. In addition, some revenue is generated from sale of publications and affiliation fees.

Concerning specific problems and populations, the OYA also has a Community Employment Program aimed at disadvantaged young people. Youth unemployment is very high in Australia and the employment program undertakes specific projects. Australia has been quite inventive and prolific in this area over the past decade.

A disproportionate number of the homeless, state wards, and imprisoned youth in Australia are Aboriginal. Over the past two decades, there have been increasing attempts to provide for the needs of Aboriginal youth. These efforts are characterized by more culturally appropriate programming (Ruth, 1990).

Australian Youth Workers

As in most countries, youth work did not become "professional" in Australia until after World War II. The first course was established at the University of Melbourne in 1944, sponsored by the National Fitness Council of Australia and taught by the Social Studies Department. Initially it consisted of a ten-month diploma program which included a major in group work in the final year. Later it was recommended that this be increased to three years. Until 1965, this was the only formal training in youth work offered in the country (Denholm and Ling, 1990).

In 1967, a Youth Workers Association was founded, and in 1972 a study set out a number of recommendations for youth worker training. A key recommendation was that the professional education for youth work be carried out within mainstream tertiary educational institutions. As a result, youth work came to be offered in the higher education sector "in its own right." Victoria was the only state offering a three-year full-time course until the 1980s.

Despite these developments, there is no designated training for child and youth care and the field remains extremely fragmented. Some have called for a national organization consisting of representatives from all the existing bodies that have a stake in child and youth care, to establish definitions for the field, educational needs of

those entering this type of work, national educational standards, career paths, and so forth. Thus, the trend is toward professionalization, but as in most other countries, there are critics who resist further professionalization (Ainsworth, 1990).

Altogether, this pattern of youth work education has resulted in a field of workers that, for the most part, have no formal youth work qualifications. The relative lack of education among youth workers has contributed to skepticism about attempts to require more formal training and establish professional organizations, which are often viewed by current youth workers as exclusive rather than inclusive (Denholm and Ling, 1990).

Short-term and part-time courses are offered by various organizations for pre-service and in-service training. These courses are not recognized as providing formal qualifications for professional status. Nonetheless, despite the lack of standardized credentials for youth work, staff training and in-service training are emphasized and are an accepted part of youth affairs work throughout the country.

Over the last ten years, Australia has seen further developments in the definition of youth work. Many government and voluntary initiatives are underway. However, there still is no national directory describing services or education programs, nor is there a method to ascertain actual numbers of practitioners working within the broad spectrum of services to children and youth. The field is characterized by low salaries and high turnover. Youth work has traditionally been associated with government departments, but recent growth has been in the private and voluntary sectors (Denholm and Ling, 1990).

Germany

Germany is often cited as the first modern welfare state. It has a history of extensive state provision in social affairs dating from the rule of Otto von Bismark in the late nineteenth century. Policies and programs are carefully structured. Statutes and regulations are thorough and hierarchical. Detailed laws, guidelines, and specifications of rights and responsibilities are laid down in fine detail and gradation.

It should be noted that the information presented here is primarily about the former Federal Republic of Germany. With unification, social policies and organization are in flux. However, the overriding trend is that East merges with West under the legal and organizational structures of the West. Therefore, most of the observations presented here, in all likelihood, will remain valid for the united Germany as well.

German history provides numerous examples of youth organization. Unfortunately, one of these, the Hitler Youth, is quite negative. Along with the Red Guard of 1960s China and a few other notorious examples, this stands as a reminder that youth organizations can be used to evil ends by authoritarian or charismatic national leaders.

To some extent, German youth have reacted against the possible reoccurrence of a regimented, highly politicized youth organization. Affluence following the post-War reconstruction has been accompanied by the appearance of distinctive youth cultures. For many German young people, the most important considerations are not the nation or the political state, but the informal peer cultures with their distinctive and non-traditional language, clothing, and behavior.

Goals of German Youth Work

The goals of German youth work are multi-faceted. Emphasis is placed on political education, cultural awareness, personal development, practical experience in social affairs, social duties, learning peaceful methods to settle conflicts and disputes, international exchanges, developing creative thoughts and behaviors, taking responsibility in the learning process, and ameliorating "out-of-balance" emotional or physical demands (International Youth Exchange and Visitors' Service, 1981). These multiple goals are based in a pluralistic and democratic philosophy:

> A democratic society would be unthinkable without the pluralism of social forces and organizations and their different political, ideological and social orientations. This pluralism is the tangible expression of the civil liberties of the people and their associations, through which they may determine the objectives, content, form, and scope of their social commitment. Youth work as a field of social education, the primary objective of which is to cultivate and improve the desire and capacity for cultural, social and political participation in democratic life, must in consequence be structured pluralistically (International Youth Exchange and Visitors' Service, 1981, p. 11).

The general assumption is that schooling by itself cannot do everything. Because unfavorable social conditions surround many young people, there is a need to provide additional youth organizations. If this does not occur, the result is not only an increase in "youth problems," but also a loss of human capital.

There is explicit recognition that, in a complex modern society, the demands for education and training can no longer be met by home and school alone. The accelerated pace of change in technological, social, and economic life requires supplemental educational and experiential opportunities. Complementary "social education" can help young people develop as individuals, resolve group conflicts, and become integrated into society. In Germany, this is known as youth work. Its practice significantly involves the participation and co-determination of young people themselves.

> All in all, youth work serves to give young people a feeling of personal safety, self-assurance, appreciation and self-assertion. It can assist them to take note of the criticism of others, to remedy failings in their own conduct, and help them to establish their own personal identity and to develop a creative attitude to their social relationships. Youth work can render an important service to the concept of education for peace in that it teaches young people the virtues of tolerance, solidarity, comradeship and peaceful settlement of personal and social conflicts (International Youth Exchange and Visitors' Service, 1981, p. 15).

In German youth work, a great array of leisure-time activities is made available: sports facilities, hobby centers, continuing education courses, trips, youth exchanges. There are inexpensive youth passes for rail travel and hostels. German young people also spend a lot of time riding bikes (or Mofas). During the 1980s, they joined sports clubs more than in the past; swimming and soccer clubs were the most popular (Federal Republic of Germany, 1986).

International youth work plays a very prominent role in Germany and there is an explicit goal of enhancing international understanding, tolerance, and peace. German youth organizations have memberships in many international youth bodies and organizations. Germany emphasizes "international contacts and international education of German youth, for world peace is dependent upon tolerance and the appreciation of . . . the views of others in matters of politics, culture, and religion" (International Youth Exchange and Visitors' Service, 1981, p. 7). There is a particular emphasis within Europe. For example, there are 400,000 exchanges with France each year. Also, there is growing cooperation in youth matters with non-European countries, especially developing countries. Youth travel and exchanges are made possible by a certain level of affluence, but they also reflect a strong cultural value placed on international awareness.

In Germany, as in some other European countries, there is distinct attention to issues of mass culture. Youth culture is recognized as a reality and there is a policy orientation that youth culture can be shaped, in certain ways, toward constructive rather than destructive purposes. This concept of working with mass culture is distinctly different from the individualistic thinking that characterizes youth policy-making in the United States.

Structure and Policies

Most European countries have a cabinet or sub-cabinet level official who coordinates youth policy. Germany has a Federal Ministry of Youth. The legal basis of youth services is set out in the Federal Youth Welfare Act, originating in 1922 but revised and superceded since that time, to which the lands (similar to provinces or states) have appended their own implementing statutes.

Germany is characterized by detailed, elaborate legal and administrative arrangements. It is an astoundingly dense, overlapping, pluralistic structure, rich in organizational resources, characterized by explicit formal agreements, supplemental coverage, and cooperation. A reference book for the international community lists more than 150 pages of youth councils, youth organizations, organizations for extracurricular cultural education, international youth work organizations, youth community services and development aid, and statutory youth organizations (International Youth Exchange and Visitors' Service, 1981). For example, the Federal Ministry of Youth is assisted in policy formulation by the Working Party of the Supreme Youth Departments, German Federated Youth Council, German Sports Council, Standing Committee on Political Education, Federal Association for Cultural Youth Work, Federal Association of Socio-Educational Programs for the Young, and the Federal Advisory Committee on Youth Problems (George, 1987).

Unique Public-Voluntary Cooperation. There is an explicit preference in Germany for non-governmental organizations. The general operating principle is that if a voluntary organization can do something, it can "bump" the government agency and the government agency is required to withdraw. Thus, the voluntary welfare associations see themselves as partners of governmental social welfare and youth organizations. The voluntary associations have taken over, to a large extent, the duties of the state, including most of the provisions of the Youth Welfare Act (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986).

The voluntary associations are somewhat ambivalent about carrying this public responsibility:

> It is true that the voluntary bodies accept these tasks partly because, in assisting individuals, they can contribute human qualities which cannot be provided by the municipal and state welfare services. However, in addition, they provide administrative assistance and are paid for it from public funds; but nevertheless they have to employ their own funds to a substantial extent to carry out these tasks. One consequence of locking up some of the resources of the voluntary bodies in this way is that the creative development of new alternatives—a special duty and privilege of the voluntary social bodies—is restricted to the burdens of people who depend on them alone when in hopeless situations.
>
> The multiplicity of services performed, the assumption of delegated duties and the close cooperation with the state also have the consequence that Voluntary Welfare is itself not free from a tendency toward bureaucratization and much discussion of its responsibilities. To overcome this calls for continual effort (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, p. 22).

Both voluntary organizations and municipalities have a right to self-administration. However, there is a heavy emphasis, based on explicit legal foundation and interpre-

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tation, on cooperation between the two. This cooperation is summarized in a *subsidiary principle*, which creates a "new and unfamiliar legal institution" wherein neither party is completely in control. To an outsider, this looks like planned uncertainty, and indeed the renunciation of definitive and static control in relations between public and voluntary welfare is considered by some Germans to be a chaotic form of organization. However, it accords with a desired democratic image and the need to balance and continually rebalance power between the state and civil society. In the tradition of Hegelian thought, the resulting conflict is seen as desirable: "This creates tensions and probably also conflicts, from which the two parties should not, however, withdraw," because the tension is viewed as a constructive safeguard of basic rights (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, p. 27).

Although considerably constrained by official obligations of function, task, and budget, the voluntary bodies are far more independent and flexible than the public bodies in deciding whether, when, where, and how services will be delivered. "The social history of recent decades demonstrates that almost all innovations in youth and social welfare have originated from the initiative of voluntary forces." Many of these innovations, when successful, eventually become institutionalized (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, pp. 27–28).

The work of voluntary bodies is recognized as a common right and their services as fulfillment of a public duty for which the state has in fact the final responsibility. Therefore, the viewpoint is that the state should not only enable voluntary organizations to fulfill these duties, but also support them adequately with public funds. The relationship between the state and voluntary bodies is a trusted and equal partnership. The state recognizes the autonomy of the voluntary organizations, but also, in consultation with them, sets appropriate guidelines. The voluntary bodies support the state in the realization of the objectives of youth service, as determined by the state within the framework of its overall responsibilities for social welfare.

Through the subsidiary principle, Germans envision a "community of services," the purpose of which is the attainment of optimum success by coordination of public and voluntary efforts. All of the services together are regarded, in this sense, as a single entity, and accordingly all of the material and immaterial resources for social assistance are to be responsibly coordinated (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, p. 28).

Major types of youth-serving voluntary organizations include: organizations of young people affiliated to the German Federal Youth Council, which choose their own aims and objectives; voluntary organizations such as the German Youth Hostels Association, which provide recreation and make facilities available for youth service functions; supra-regional educational centers; and local leisure centers, which seek to serve those who are not already members of societies or organizations (International Youth Exchange and Visitors' Service, 1981, pp. 12–13).

Levels of Organization. Corresponding to the structure of the nation, three levels in the organization structure of youth service can be identified: federal, regional (the lands), and local. At each level, statutory and voluntary organizations work together.

At the federal level, there are a number of associations of both public and voluntary bodies. A Federal Advisory Committee on Youth Problems, established by law, advises the federal government on all aspects of youth services. The federal government is also required to submit periodic reports on the situation of youth and youth services in the nation.

At the regional level, a variety of activities are supported financially by the lands. There are regional youth councils and their member organizations, educational centers, youth hostels, and youth community services. Youth offices work with voluntary organizations.

At the local level, youth service is adapted to the local situation. The local voluntary associations affiliate themselves with the district or municipal youth council. Federal law requires that all county districts and municipalities have a youth office, which is required to meet the needs of youth work in its area by supporting voluntary organizations or undertaking the youth work directly.

The rich pattern of public and voluntary services often provides multiple choices for services (this is not so true in small towns and rural areas, where choices are more limited). At the level of individual citizen, the multiplicity of choices and the right of choice reinforce the dignity and freedom of the individual. Indeed, German law explicitly embraces this right of choice and

> compels official and voluntary bodies jointly to seek alternatives, in the light of the local situation. Both bodies are accordingly required to consider the client and his situation and to present new and different possibilities, instead of reserving them to themselves in a monopolistic manner (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, p. 28).

Funding

Public funding is partially in the form of compulsory payments based on statute. This often takes the form of unit of service reimbursement to organizations providing the services.

The Federal Youth Plan, adopted in 1950, is a cornerstone of German youth policy. It provides for subsidies, coordination, and promotion of German youth work. Under this plan, funds available for youth services are administered on a non-statutory basis for activities that transcend the commitments of regional and local authorities.

Regarding voluntary support, service by unpaid workers is among the most important resources in the voluntary welfare sector. Financial support comes from donations, house to house appeals, gifts and bequests, income from lotteries, and sale of special welfare stamps (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, pp. 41–44).

Youth Workers

Consonant with elaborate organizational structures, specific fields of youth work have developed at all levels, including specializations in political education of the young; cultural youth work; job-oriented youth work; youth work in social events, games, sports, and recreation; health and rehabilitation work with the young; youth advisory services; and international youth work (International Youth Exchange and Visitors' Service, 1981).

The trend in recent years is away from unpaid volunteers. With professionalization of social work and youth work, the impression has arisen that "progressive social activities are obstructed rather than promoted by unpaid volunteers." In any event, this has been the viewpoint of many full-time professional staff. Problems have arisen when the two types of staff work side-by-side. Unpaid volunteers often have felt unappreciated and misunderstood, and many have given up. As in many countries, there is a need for improved understanding and cooperation between these two groups.

At the same time, however, a wide range of citizen's initiatives and self-help groups have emerged. These groups are thought to respond more sensitively and more quickly to social problems. Voluntary work, in this form, is not a mere supplement or even a complement to professional services, but rather a full substitute, a different way to provide the service. In this sense, voluntary effort is today a more important part of the social service landscape than at any time in recent decades (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, p. 33).

Gradually, in the "social professions" there have emerged a "motley variety" of occupations for which training institutions have emerged. The voluntary associations are very closely involved in the development of training for social occupations. The second largest category of training institutions (exceeded only by nursing schools) is "welfare work and schools for social paedogogics," which number 140, with nearly 2000 full-time and part-time professional staff, offering more than 17,000 student positions. Turning to advanced training institutions, welfare work takes the clear lead with 112 schools, over 600 professional staff, and more than 3,500 student positions (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, pp. 37–38 and 55).

Also, there is a rich array of short-term practical training in many forms—staff conferences, in-service training, weekend seminars, one- or two-week courses, three month courses, or half year courses. Much of the training is supported by the voluntary welfare associations, and requires a considerable investment in staff and materials.

Advanced training is highly valued and viewed as necessary for life-long learning. There are a variety of different types of training for different purposes. Indeed, it is difficult for an outsider to see the distinctions among categories such as general advanced training to update skills, intensive advanced training in a specific area, and supplemental advanced training (Federal Association of Voluntary Welfare Agencies, 1986, pp. 37–40).

On occasion, I have met German youth workers, and I must say, the energy and commitment they bring to the job is impressive. They seem to have high enthusiasm and an orientation toward action, involvement, cultural appreciation, international awareness, exercise, fresh air, and practical results. Overall, there is a strong sense of purpose.

An Uneasy Outlook

This is a period of great change in Germany. The youth populations of East and West are not identical, and in many respects they are not comfortable with one another. With unification and nationalistic tensions rising, tolerance among Germany's young people is being tested. Making the situation still more complicated is a large influx of foreigners, and this influx is likely to continue. So far, German youth have not responded well to these pressures.

As I write this paper, German youth are firebombing refugee hostels and beating up immigrants across the country, but particularly in the former East Germany. These are said to be the worst inter-ethnic attacks since the Nazi era. Ethnic conflict is exacerbated by competition for jobs, housing, and social welfare funds. A federal agency reports that the nation has far more neo-Nazis than previously thought, and far-right political parties are gaining strength in certain areas of the country. These unfortunate developments remind us that continued training of German youth for tolerance is very much needed.

Sweden

Historically, Sweden has been a placid, homogeneous, and caring society. For many years it has been considered the most successful welfare state in the world, traveling a *middle way* between capitalism and socialism, a country where economic productivity and growth have been accompanied by high taxation and extensive state services.

Recently, however, some Swedes are having second thoughts. They believe there has been too much central control at too high a cost. Traditional welfare-statism is coming under increasing criticism. The Social Demo-

cratic government has been replaced by a Conservative government, and the current trend is more capitalistic, less egalitarian, and less service oriented.

In Sweden, like many other nations, there is a growing bifurcation of youth into two groups. One group is functioning, finishes school, and enters the labor market. The second group—which in Sweden is largely composed of first generation youth from immigrant backgrounds—has a more difficult time. Among these minorities in Sweden are Turks, Yugoslavs, Greeks, Asians, Africans, and Finns. The nation is no longer as homogeneous as it once was, and perhaps ten percent of Swedish youth are at risk for long-term problems (OECD, 1986).

Goals, Policies, and Programs

The government prescribes overall goals. These goals, however, are broad and can be interpreted in different ways by regional and municipal authorities. Thus, municipalities have more specific goals, although generally in harmony with state goals. The provision of most child and youth care is planned and organized at the local level. Communities assess needs and develop a plan. Facilities are often provided by the national government.

Sweden seeks to provide young people ages 7–25 "the best possible prerequisites to develop into adulthood." Overall, there is a general national sentiment that "it is good for kids to be in organizations" (Seligson, 1988). Different programs are sponsored and evaluated by different authorities, the State Youth Council, the State Cultural Council, and so forth.

Fritidshem. After school child care is understood as a preventive service and called fritidshem. Operating under different auspices, this system serves 7–12 year olds in centers that operate from about 6:30 am to 6:30 pm, located where the children live and go to school. About 15 to 20 children are at each site with two or three staff members. The fritidshem centers are well-supplied facilities, representing a financial commitment by the community (this section on fritidshem draws on an excellent report by Seligson, 1988).

There are spaces in the fritidshem for about 80,000 Swedish children, which is approximately 17 percent of the population in this age range. In addition, a family care system serves about 40,000 children in these ages. Altogether, about 24 percent of Swedish children are enrolled in both types of sanctioned care. The shortage of official care leads many families to use the private market, often neighbors. Other families share child care arrangements. Perhaps 50 percent of Swedish children do not have any after school care.

The relationship between the schools and the fritidshem is a significant issue in Sweden. Tensions are sometimes interpreted as a conflict between two cultures of learning—formal education and informal education. These problems might also be interpreted as a conflict between two professional groups. Increased professionalism among child care providers has created a group of highly skilled workers with pride in their discipline, but not an equivalent rise in status or compensation.

For children 12 to 14, there are centers for youth, open in the evenings for recreation and socializing. There is also a system of clubs, which have somewhat higher status than the fritidshem (Seligson, 1988).

A Citywide Experiment. Swedish youth policy is characterized by openness to innovation. For example, the City of Vasteras is a test site for intensive youth interventions (Henriksson, 1991). Programs produced by young people are broadcast from the town's own television station. An independent free youth newspaper is produced monthly. A video team has produced documentaries for use on regional television and at political meetings. I was fortunate to meet the Mayor and youth officials of Vasteras at a youth policy conference in Moscow in December of 1990. They reported that the young people have responded well because they know they are being invested in, and know they are important.

Social Control and Reaction. Some observers, however, have begun to ask if Swedish youth are "undermined through overcaring." Seller (1991) paints a picture of deeply dissatisfied Swedish youth. Even though conditions are remarkably good and the lifestyle healthy, the social caring can be oppressive and some young Swedes feel powerless and isolated.

For example, taking the Vasteras situation, the adults of Vasteras obviously care about their teenagers. Each weekend, groups of parents, youth workers, and youth police officers go on "caring patrol," which involves finding young people who are drinking too much, "advising" them to empty their bottles of alcohol, and making sure that they get home. The young people do not rebel; they follow the "advice." But they tend to feel that they have no space of their own. The facilities are excellent; the equipment is nice; but everywhere there are adults ready to work with the young people, stimulate them, protect them, and organize them. Young people are seldom left alone just to be young and make mistakes (Seller, 1991).

In sum, young Swedes are mostly passive in the face of pervasive adult influence, but they are a little resentful. Although there is "participation," it is often shallow and conforms to adult expectations. It is not clear that improved citizenship or true involvement results from this type of participation. For example, Swedish youth show little involvement or interest in social or political affairs (Wilson, 1991).

There are perhaps signs of change. Benny Henriksson, youth worker and author of the seminal *Youth Not for*

Sale (1983), is a maverick whose thought and influence are growing in Sweden. Henriksson points to negative results of heavy state involvement in weakening family and community ties. He calls for individual, family, and community action, with special emphasis on building vibrant caring communities. If Henriksson represents a new model of Swedish youth work, it will be less state, less bureaucracy, less professionalism, more voluntarism, more control at the local level, and more genuine participation by young people in decision-making.

Structure

In Sweden, there is very heavy public sector involvement in youth services, financed by the state, regional authorities, and municipalities from general tax revenues. Community-based programs are organized and administered by the different municipalities, numbering 284 in 1991, which receive non-financial support from state authorities.

A 1924 Swedish law created a child welfare committee in each community. Each committee had the authority to take charge of "asocial" young people, or those neglected or living in situations which compromised their moral development. The committees supervised foster homes and child care centers. In 1982, these committees were combined with other functions into a social welfare committee.

Juvenile offenders under 18 are reported to the social welfare committee, which investigates and decides what supportive measures are necessary. There are a wide range of possible interventions, from economic to social to medical. For young people under the age of 15, no legal sanctions apply (Janson and Torstensson in Klein, 1984).

Youth boards at the community level are heavily subsidized, with the federal government covering 20 to 65 percent of operating costs. The government also pays about half the costs of youth organizations (Bjorklund and Persson-Taninwra, 1983).

The Swedish people know that their government has money to invest in young people, and therefore discussion and planning can lead to tangible results (although, with the new Conservative government, this situation may change). This is quite a different atmosphere from most other countries. In the United States, for example, we discuss youth issues but without the same assurance—and often without even a slight hope—that the government is ready to back sensible planning with funds for youth services.

Youth Workers

Sweden is characterized by a rich fabric of youth services and professionals, cutting across institutions. For example, all schools have social welfare officers. Public welfare in schools is planned and conducted by the public welfare conference, which is responsible for general preventive measures relating to all pupils, as well as individuals or groups requiring special support. There are also recreation leaders to help students organize leisure activities and connect with the municipal recreation committee and voluntary associations (Stenholm, 1984).

Official youth workers must have some type of university or college degree. Education and training differ from field to field. For example, to become a youth worker in the field of leisure activities and sports, an individual goes through basic education and training for three years. Following this, and after beginning employment, a variety of training sessions and specialized programs are available.

Norway

Norway is also a homogeneous and tolerant society, with a very high proportion of "affiliated" youth, that is, youth who are connected to a youth organization. There are a large number of voluntary organizations, and the emergence of youth work in Norway is related to the emergence of voluntary organizations.

History, Policy, and Programs

Similar to the United States, the temperance and Christian layman movements in nineteenth century Norway provided fertile soil for a number of organizations for children and youth. These included the scouting movement, political youth groups, sports clubs, and organizations of rural youth. Altogether, these developed into a rich organizational fabric in virtually all parts of the country (Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, 1985).

After World War II, the public sector became more involved. Public youth work began in the 1950s when the Norwegian Department of Youth and Sport and the Storting (Norwegian National Assembly) offered the first financial support for the youth organizations. The Norwegian State Youth Council was created in 1953 and assumed a coordinating role between the public and voluntary youth organizations. Since that time, youth work has become a high national priority.

Rising demands for increased public funding led to the Rolf Hansen Committee, appointed in 1958 and reporting in 1959, which was in favor of public support for youth work being channeled to a greater extent through the voluntary organizations. As a result of this report, public financial support for youth organizations was quadrupled. Emphasis was placed on responding to urbanization and the marked growth in younger age groups. Youth organizations were seen explicitly as a counterweight to disruption and rootlessness.

Following the period of rebuilding in the 1950s and 1960s, ideological fermentation arose in the late 1960s. This period saw the emergence of a more distinctive youth culture, mostly outside the traditional youth organizations. Many young people avoided the voluntary youth organizations, or selected organizations that were oriented toward physical activity. Traditional organizations began to lose their attraction and membership declined. In addition, more families became mobile; more young children were uprooted, moving from farm to town, or from one town to another.

The Hauglin Committee was appointed in 1967, but did not give its report until 1971. This committee emphasized the importance of public authorities involving themselves directly in providing recreational activities for young people as part of a more committed youth policy. The focus was on the municipal recreation clubs.

Beginning in 1970s, a new perspective on "culture" was emerging in Norway and many other countries in Europe. This was an *expanded* or *extended* definition of culture, encompassing sports, youth work, and recreational activities. A series of cultural reports in Norway in 1973 and 1974 called for active participation and cultural democracy. Planning structures and financial support were provided to facilitate the achievement of these new goals.

With this support, the sports movement, through sports clubs, became an active partner in most local communities. The goals were physical fitness, social contact, and promotion of cultural values. The emphasis was on "cultural and political education" and involvement of youth.

The various youth reports were considered by the Storting and in 1981–82 the government issued *Youth and Society*. Following a change in government in 1981, a second report was issued in 1982–83, *Youth—Participation and Responsibility*. These two reports received broad support in the Storting in 1983. As a result, coordination of youth policy was placed with the Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs. The Department of Youth and Sport was established at the beginning of 1984. The focus was on normal social and personal development:

> Youth policy ought to be designed keeping in mind the areas in which young people develop and gain experience: the home and family, recreation and friends, training and education, work and dwelling. Young people in today's society often lack sufficient opportunities for participation and social training. . . . During adolescence the need for a stable social basis is particularly great. A sense of alienation and of not being of use can lead to passivity and social apathy (Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, 1985, p. 9).

Regarding goals, the important elements of a public youth policy in Norway are inclusion, participation, and responsibility; active selection of values; active recreation, seeking especially to reach youth who do not belong to organizations; and coordination of youth policy at all levels of public life, with major responsibility in the central representative bodies (Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, 1985).

Activities tend to relate to the everyday life of youngsters in school, employment, leisure, housing, and other areas. At times, youth programming is wonderfully innovative. Norwegians are very good at sitting down, looking at problems, and developing creative solutions. For example, one town was having a problem of motorcycles at night. The noise was bothering residents. After considering various options, the youth authorities decided to build an auto repair shop outside of town with youth workers as "mechanics." Soon young people were congregating there to fix their motorcycles, leading to less noise in town, and also to informal group discussions, skill training, mentoring, and so forth.

In Norway, youth organizations are very active. By age 12 to 14, large numbers of children have left scouting and Christian organizations, but they sign up with new clubs and associations, primarily sports clubs, recreation clubs, choirs, and bands. At ages 14 and 16, well over half of all Norwegian youth of both genders are members of sports clubs. Over 90 percent of the 14 year olds are members of one or more organizations, often more than one. The most usual combination is a sports club and a recreation club.

There are a wide range of interests, from open air life to politics, to social and cultural activities. The organizations teach practical skills and transmit attitudes and values. They provide experience in participating in democratic organizations.

Political youth organizations have received state support since 1953. An important function of the political organizations is the recruitment and schooling of youth for participation in the political parties.

Recreation clubs number about 700 in 200 different municipalities. Junior clubs are for 10 to 14 year olds, and youth clubs for 14 to 18 year olds. The clubs seek explicitly to reach children and youth who do not participate in other recreational activities or who need special support as they grow up. Junior clubs are open only in the afternoon, but youth clubs are open in the evening as well. The clubs have open activities as well as group activities, the latter focussing on specific projects or hobbies. Members are involved in running the clubs. The municipalities have financial, administrative, and professional responsibility, and there is a national association of recreation clubs.

A specific item in the state budget is to support measures aimed at alleviating special youth problems in the biggest towns, such as public disturbances, drug and alcohol abuse, and crime. The Norwegian authorities realize that these problems cannot be solved simply by using the police and coercive means of enforcing order. Creative approaches include motor workshops (mentioned above), youth theatres, and places for rock-and-roll groups to practice.

Services are also targeted to special problems. The aim is preventive—to keep problems from arising or growing more serious. There is a conscious effort to safeguard against isolation and lack of participation, and a great deal of experimentation. Dedicated efforts are made to involve immigrant youth in recreational programs, youth organizations, and public services.

Turning to sports, the Norwegian Confederation of Sports was established in 1946 and the State Sports Council in 1957. There are substantial public funds for sports, providing about 20 percent of the total spent in this area. To facilitate sports involvement, there is a network of community centers, built with public subsidies after World War II. The voluntary sector cooperates closely with the public sector in providing sports opportunities. Voluntary sports organizations are prominent in Norway, with more than 10,000 local sports clubs.

The guiding vision is *sports for all* and that sports serve the *whole individual*. Thus, the approach is linked with general education, art, and culture, with the general goal of bringing everyone into an active life. Tolerance for diversity is a fundamental principle; activities are open to everyone.

For example, there is a program of "health sports" for groups with special needs, focusing on health more than on competition and performance. Health sports are organized for the physically disabled, the mentally retarded, people with alcohol and drug problems, prison inmates, and others. An organized nationwide program in health sports began in 1958 and Norway is far ahead of most other countries in this area.

Structure

As mentioned above, the government particularly supports sports organizations and funds recreational facilities for communities. The Storting has decided not to create a Youth Ministry; rather, responsibility for specific areas lies with the relevant ministries. However, a system for coordinating youth policy has been established. All ministries with youth programs meet regularly in a permanent forum.

Youth policy is coordinated by a Special Adviser on Youth Policy, the Interdepartmental Youth Committee, and the Norwegian State Council for Children and Youth. Together, these offices have led to identification of children and youth policy as a distinct category in the national budget beginning in 1983, and created an annual action plan for youth beginning in 1984.

As in many other countries, the main challenge in establishing policy and administrative arrangements for youth policy lies in the tension between central coordination and local design and control.

Coordination at the local level is by municipality and county councils, which decide on the specific organization(s) that will coordinate activities relating to youth. There is considerable vertical as well as horizontal coordination. The state proposes that each local municipality develop a youth plan. Financial grants are provided for this work, as well as a standardized questionnaire which can be used in gathering local data. A handbook to help in local preparation and planning for children and youth has also been published.

Criteria for financial support include appropriate goals, democratic structure, and size and range of activities and programs. In 1984, for example, 57 children and youth organizations, not including sports organizations, received support via the national budget, representing a total membership of 730,000, and about 300,000 of these were children under 12 years of age.

Experimentation and Research

The Norwegian central government supports new ideas and experimentation. Youth policy includes explicit objectives of gaining experience through new initiatives, service methods, and organizational forms. A prerequisite of experimental financial support is that projects are considered to be of potential interest to other municipalities, institutions, and organizations.

Youth issues and questions are explored in many different fields of research. The focus is typically very applied and practical, and research in different areas is coordinated. Large youth-oriented research projects are also supported. For example, there was a nationwide longitudinal questionnaire of 14-year-olds in 1981, and this cohort was surveyed again in 1983 as 16-year-olds, and again in 1985 as 18-year-olds. Unlike longitudinal youth studies in the United States, a key aspect of the Norway surveys has been to examine the effectiveness of youth services.

III

DIMENSIONS OF YOUTH SERVICES

IN THIS SECTION, WE TURN TO A MORE IN DEPTH LOOK AT DIMENsions of youth services in different countries. The dimensions considered are purposes and goals, policies and programs, structure and finance, youth workers and training, and information and research. The discussion here is not a catalogue of comparisons, but rather selected examples, noteworthy trends, and commentary on important themes.

Purposes and Goals

As can be seen in the preceding section, there are a wide range of purposes in youth work, not clearly demarcated, and often overlapping. Within a given country, there are multiple purposes. Indeed, there are quite often multiple purposes within a given youth organization. Therefore, it is helpful to think of arrays of goals rather than of single-purpose policies. Of course, a given country may emphasize some goals more strongly than others.

History and Changing Goals

"Youth work" as a field of public policy and programs in Anglo-Saxon countries commenced with the "ragged schools" in Britain in the late eighteenth century. Although nominally voluntary, the ragged schools were operated by the rich for children of the poor, who were under considerable obligation to attend. These programs were a response to new social conditions created by the Industrial Revolution. Children were drilled in industrious habits. In 1844, the YMCA was initiated to provide mutual support and personal development experiences in response to increased leisure time availability. By 1860, youth centers emerged in Britain. The youth centers were influenced by the earlier development of the Turnverein movement in Germany, which was aimed at young adults and focused on gymnastics and other physical activities. Various elaborations of these programs arose in different countries—some oriented toward health, others religious, others military, and so forth.

A few decades later, the Wondervogel and other free youth movements arose in Germany, which were another important influence. These movements resulted in organizations that emphasized management by young people themselves. The Youth Hostels Association exemplified this influence. In general, during the twentieth century, youth programs gradually evolved from urban reformist and class-based approaches to more general and populist orientations (Hamilton-Smith, 1990).

Modern "youth work" grew out of this mixed heritage. Typically, youth work has relied on adults to organize and direct non-school and non-work activities of the young in a moral context of healthy living and good citizenship.

However, during the 1960s and 1970s, influenced by social ferment and humanistic psychology, there arose an emphases on reaching youth in difficult circumstances and on individual development. For example, the expansion of detached youth work (not based in clubs) in the United Kingdom reflected these trends. There was greater emphasis on social development, social education, and informal education in Sweden and Norway as well. Many of these trends have continued to the present time, but there have been reactions in various forms.

For example, during the 1970s in Australia, traditional youth workers reasserted the importance of active leisure and recreation. This led to a split in the field between those who identified with leisure and recreation and those who considered recreation to be a trivial goal. The leisure advocates, who were often older and had assumed leadership positions in the youth work field, proceeded to close many of the socially-oriented youth centers and replace them with leisure centers.

However, the social development branch of Australian youth workers has survived and continues to pursue a focus on social disadvantage. This focus is, in some respects, a return to the nineteenth century urban reformist roots of youth work (Hamilton-Smith, 1990).

Benefits to Participants

One major category of goals in youth services is benefits to individual participants. In this sense, youth services are social policy instruments in the tradition of the modern welfare state, wherein the state takes responsibility for assisting individual citizens, or the services are from the voluntary sector, but oriented toward individual needs. Benefits to participants can take any number of forms, but two of the most prominent are personal needs and personal development.

Personal Needs. The category of personal needs can be broken down into two types of activities: rescuing and welfaring. As pointed out above, rescuing has the deepest roots in youth work, arising in Europe out of Christian religious organizations, whereas welfaring has more modern roots in social work. There has been some overlap between the two, both historically and conceptually.

The elaborate welfare states of Europe reflect the welfaring emphasis. In Germany, for example, when individual youth problems arise, intensive casework services are provided. As indicated above, there has been a pronounced trend in many countries since the 1960s to reach socially disadvantaged youth. Although the language is frequently some version of "empowerment" or "participation," youth work in these circumstances is sometimes more accurately described as welfaring.

Personal Development. James Coleman (1972) and his colleagues on the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee concluded that the transition to adulthood is impeded in modern industrial society and dependency is prolonged. According to Coleman, today's youth are "education rich" but "action poor," precisely the reverse of the situation a century earlier. Under these circumstances, a youth culture has taken shape that is inward looking, consumption and pleasure oriented, and excessively segregated from adult responsibilities and values. As a response to this situation, Coleman and others have recommended deliberate creation of new institutions and activities that involve young people in responsible roles and provide opportunities for personal development.

The analysis and recommendations of Coleman's report are not very different from the concerns and proposals that led to the creation of the YMCA in the nineteenth century. Indeed, youth work in Europe was built on personal development themes. The tone at that time was decidedly more moralistic and religious, but the discussion about leadership development, adult role models, setting good examples, and so forth is almost the same as today.

By the time Coleman had written his report, youth services in the five countries studied had already created institutions and activities similar to those Coleman recommended for the United States. Personal development is a major objective of all the programs in Europe, but perhaps particularly in Norway and Sweden.

Commonweal Concerns

Commonweal refers to the public good, the general welfare, the needs of the community as opposed to those of the individual. As Alexis de Tocqueville incisively commented long ago, in an individualistic, democratic nation, the ability of the society to work together is essential: "In democratic countries knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of knowledge; on its progress depends that of all others" (Tocqueville, 1969, p. 517).

In sociological theory, commonweal issues are addressed under several headings, but historically one of the most prominent has been *social control*. Today this term is in general disuse and misuse, often understood in a negative sense as state control or coercive control. However, the original meaning was neutral, referring to attempts by society to shape individuals through social institutions. The essence of the concept is societal self-regulation. This might be understood by analogy. In psychology, self control refers to individual self-regulation and it is a neutral phrase—one can have too much self control or too little. Everyone would agree that some amount of self-control is desirable. Similarly, some amount of social control is desirable at the societal level, but in this sense we are speaking about civil society, not the state political apparatus. For a review of the sociological underpinnings, see Janowitz (1975).

In various ways, the original meaning of social control is expressed in academic and practical concerns with community, commitment, citizenship, cooperation among diverse groups, conflict resolution, and problem-solving processes. These and other commonweal concerns might be placed into two main categories: The first is cultural integration, tolerance, and social cohesion; and the second is active citizenship and participation.

Cultural Integration. This area of commonweal concern focuses on increased cultural appreciation, promotion of democratic tendencies, building bridges, fostering tolerance and mutual respect, and conflict resolution. Margaret Mead (1967) observed that "the poor and rich, the highly technologically gifted and those with obsolescent skills, the white collar and the blue collar, are each reared in almost total ignorance of one another." Mead was very concerned about "fragmentation, ignorance, and lack of knowledge of fellow citizens." Targets for integration in youth services may include divisions of class, ethnicity and race, gender, religion, or geographical region.

Of the five nations studied, this goal has been most explicit in the youth services of Germany, where there

are official and on-going attempts to counteract the historic intolerance of the Nazi period. German youth policies and services emphasize pluralism and self-determination of different peoples and groups, whatever their differences. Unfortunately, the current situation of neo-Nazi revival among German youth indicates that a great deal of additional work must be done to foster tolerance and cultural integration.

The strong emphasis on social development in the United Kingdom and Norway has important elements of cultural integration and political tolerance as well. The programs of Norway are "open to all" to an unusual extent. But racial and ethnic problems continue to arise. Similar divisions have occurred in Sweden with rising immigration, but Swedish youth policy is not strongly oriented toward resolving those divisions. Likewise in Australia, cultural integration and tolerance has not been prominent in youth work.

Citizenship. Beginning from the perspective that a strong civil society is a critical element of a democratic nation, one of the most important viewpoints in discussing youth services is the sociology of citizenship, represented by the work of T.H. Marshall (1950, 1977) and Morris Janowitz (1980). Essentially, this perspective focuses on the evolution and balance of citizenship rights vs. obligations, and on institutional structures that facilitate or impede expression of citizenship responsibilities. From this viewpoint, youth services would facilitate individual contributions to the community and nation.

The citizenship theme in youth services is apparent when the term "participation" or "involvement" is used to emphasize what youth have to contribute. A main spokesperson is Benny Henriksson of Sweden who emphasizes in his book, *Not for Sale*, a strong sense of youth involvement in community affairs and genuine responsibilities. This emphasis is apparent when Henriksson details what he means by good environments for children:

- Environments which children can relate to, so that children can participate in community work.
- Environments where the generations co-operate on important questions. Children and adolescents must be given the opportunity of growing up into the adult world, in a continuous process, with the support of adults.
- Environments which provide productive tasks for all. This increases people's involvement and combats institutional thinking, passivity, and the rule of the expert. Children must be given meaningful tasks, a responsibility and be able to develop their innate resources.
- Environments which combat social rejection and isolation, encourage positive social control, build upon solidarity and fellowship and which combat the need for society's control apparatus.
- Environments which fill adolescence with a reason for existence, that is, which give self-esteem, identity, belonging, co-operation and fellowship.
- Environments which create alternatives to the commercial leisure and culture industries.
- Environments where adults understand the complete scope of the term "our children." All adults must realise that they have a responsibility to provide the coming generation with the security and development which they need to be able to function in the local community (Henriksson, 1983, p. 97).

Overall, however, the citizenship theme has not been highly prominent in the youth services of the five countries studied, especially for younger adolescents. The major exceptions have been scouting and other programs that emphasize, to some extent, service to society. For older youth, we find citizenship expectations quite strongly developed in Germany, and to a lesser extent in the United Kingdom, but not much in Norway, Australia, or even Sweden, despite Henriksson's call for increased youth responsibilities.

Socialist and authoritarian China offers a quite different perspective on "citizenship." Chinese young people have little freedom of choice about whether or not to participate; they are all expected to participate. Indeed, this participation and the political indoctrination that goes along with it are the main elements of youth policy and services in China. Young people, through pervasive state-sponsored youth organizations, are viewed as contributing members of society. A large portion of their "contributions" are a sort of political sham, but certain activities, such as large scale tree planting, are genuine and substantial (Eberly and Sherraden, 1990).

Society and State Interests

This brings us to society and state interests. Clearly the Chinese, mentioned above, are very much inclined toward serving state interests in youth policy and programs. In more democratic countries, we less often think in these terms. Nonetheless, youth services can meet certain goals for the society or the political state.

Leisure Control. "Leisure" can be viewed in many ways. Some see leisure as the arena of transmission of culture and ideology, and the setting of personal development, especially interpersonal competence (Hamilton-Smith, 1990). Others see leisure for young people as a threat to society, an invitation for trouble. From this perspective, leisure must be controlled. The more psychological version of this perspective takes a Freudian turn on the importance of releasing energy. For example, con-

sider this description of the Undugu youth centers in Kenya: "The centres unite the youth and give them an opportunity to release the tensions they have. At home they cannot free themselves from their superfluous energy" (Undugu Society of Nairobi, undated, p. 9). Of course, we have strong elements of this sentiment in the puritanical traditions of the United States; as the old saying goes, "Idle hands are the Devil's workshop."

This goal of channeling youthful energy does not appear officially in any of the five countries studied. However, it seems to be lurking under the surface in the effort to "attach" more young people in Britain and "affiliate" more young people in Norway. One senses that the goal of attachment and affiliation is to keep young people out of trouble, i.e., to protect civil society from the disruption of youth who may be out of line. Indications also appear in Sweden, where we find imposing control by adult groups over leisure activities of the young, and youth sometimes feel that they are being watched over a bit too carefully.

Incorporation. An important viewpoint in understanding youth services is as state political control, often discussed in terms of incorporation or corporatist state theory. In political science, corporatist theory focuses on the role of state policy in integrating, sometimes co-opting, individuals and groups into the state political apparatus. From the corporatist viewpoint, youth services would be seen as a mechanism to enhance loyalty of young people to the state and to serve the narrow interests of the political elite rather than broad interests of the population as a whole. Much recent policy research, particularly in developing nations, has concluded that social policy may be guided by efforts of the federal government to link population groups to the state. Under authoritarian regimes, this is generally described as state corporatism. Under democratic regimes with well-organized interest groups, the process is described as societal corporatism or neocorporatism (Schmitter and Lehmbruch, 1980).

Although the interests of the political state do not have to be detrimental to civil society, they sometimes are. Taking two of the most horrific examples, the Hitler Youth of Nazi Germany and the Red Guard of China cannot be forgotten as youth service organizations that were turned to nefarious state purposes. Thus, there are occasions when youth services do indeed serve the state to the detriment of freedom, diversity, and democracy among the population.

However, these occasions are not common in Western democracies. There is not much evidence of incorporation and control, even in a benign sense, in the youth services of the five nations in this report. The programs are not significantly politicized along the lines of state interests. Political education, where it occurs in youth movement organizations in these countries, tends to be oriented toward pluralism and democracy. Indeed, some of the "empowerment" programming in the United Kingdom and Australia, and the "participation" programming in Germany occasionally politicizes young people *against* the state, and this programming, if not always welcome, tends to be tolerated by political leaders.

Social Justice

This brings us to social justice. Particularly in Europe, there is a well-established neo-Marxist tradition of viewing young people as apart and mistreated. The phrase "democratic youth participation" embodies the theme of youth as an oppressed class. The focus is on the need for power-sharing by youth in non-manipulative, voluntary engagement (Smith, 1990). The overriding emphasis is on the rights of youth, with little attention to responsibilities. For example, a report from an international group of youth scholars defines participation as follows:

> . . . participation can be seen as an active concept both on the individual level, where it is related to the experience of satisfaction or to alienation, and on the social level, where it is connected with the objective possibility of sharing of power with other groups of society and by that co-determines the future development of society as a whole (Hartmann and Trnka, 1984, pp. 7–8).

The tone of this discussion is highly normative, almost dogmatic. For example, another working group takes a sweeping stand against "enforced participation:"

> Enforced participation of a large number of youth in certain organisations as, e.g., schools or military service, cannot be given the same positive evaluation as their voluntary engagement in other areas, but has to be seen as an instrument of control (Hartmann and Trnka, 1984, p. 9).

Presumably, by this narrow standard, voluntary criminal behavior or use of illicit drugs is more positively participative than mandatory public education. Later the authors conclude:

> The existence of democratic participation will be measured by the degree of youth self-determination, the possibility for youth to control their own activities and to reach goals set up by youth itself, the acceptance of youth as an equal part in society and the non-existence of age-discrimination (Hartmann and Trnka, 1984, pp. 74–75).

The European youth sociologists have been influential, at least on paper. Participation in this social justice sense significantly shapes the rhetoric of scholarship about youth and youth policy, particularly in Sweden, but also in Norway and Germany, and to a lesser extent, in the United Kingdom and Australia. In many cases, the rhetoric does not have much to do with reality. The prescriptions—self determination in youth clubs and the like—are well and good, but realistically, these prescriptions do not have much to do with power sharing in society. Of

course, young people themselves generally see through the rhetoric.

Very few people are against social justice, and certainly young people have been neglected in modern societies, but in this particular application, one wonders if the term social justice has not been stretched a little out of shape. Perhaps a more useful orientation would be social justice in the sense of reaching all members of society (see "commonweal concerns" above).

Economic Development

Another goal for youth services falls into the general realm of economic development and productivity. Economic development in youth services may take a direct emphasis on development of infrastructure and productive capacity. This goal is often adopted explicitly in the youth programs of developing countries (Seltzer, 1984). In some developing countries, more than half of the population is under 15 years of age. At the turn of the century, some 80 to 85 percent of the youth population will live in the developing world. The economic development perspective on youth services views this massive youth population as an economic resource, envisioning active participation by youth in productive activities. Of course, this does not apply as strongly for younger adolescents, where direct economic activity is usually viewed as exploitative.

Another version of economic development is in youth employment and entrepreneurial activity. During the 1980s, a distinct change in this direction occurred in the United Kingdom and in Australia, where greater attention was placed on community-based youth employment and entrepreneurial activities. These programs also have been targeted toward older youth.

Education and Training

For young adolescents, particularly in advanced economies, the economic emphasis is on education and training. Indeed, in youth development activities in much of the world, education and job training are likely to be stressed (e.g., Unesco, 1981b). In this case, youth service is viewed as an opportunity for learning, experience, and career exploration, and may be defined as informal eduction, service-learning, or learning through practice. Several of the countries in this study, but explicitly Germany, recognize that formal schooling is not a sufficient format for individual education. There is too much to learn, and schooling cannot cover all of it. Therefore youth services are organized as "informal education" to supplement classroom education.

In some nations, the education and training goal may be expressed as human capital development. For example, Japanese youth policy explicitly views children as an economic asset to the nation and much of youth programming is tied to the idea of developing productive workers (National Assembly for Youth Development, 1985b). In the public sector, Japan has universal or quasi-universal policies with a heavy emphasis on prevention and services to the disabled so that they can participate in the labor force. Japanese youth policy can be viewed as an investment strategy rather than as a welfare strategy (Ozawa, 1991).

International Understanding

Another prominent goal is international understanding. From this perspective, youth services would have an international dimension, designed to improve mutual understanding and appreciation, promote tolerance, and develop interpersonal and interinstitutional bonds that reach from one country to another. One of the books most associated with this viewpoint is Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy's *Planetary Service* (1978). Rosenstock-Huessy's vision is a supra-national youth service, emphasizing what young people can contribute to the world around them. In his view, peace is not absence of war, but rather active involvement and participation across borders.

Not surprisingly, internationalism is a major goal of the Commonwealth Youth Programme and other international youth organizations. The United Kingdom and Australia are active participants in international youth associations. Youth exchanges and international programming and education are emphasized.

Among the five countries studied in this report, Germany has adopted the strongest international focus. As a purposeful counterbalance to its nationalistic history, German youth policy emphasizes youth exchanges with other European countries, particularly France.

Policies and Programs

At the risk of sounding simplistic, the most notable thing about youth policies in other nations is that they pay attention to youth as a policy issue. *Over a period of many decades, the countries in this study have organized prestigious committees, written major reports, adopted new policy directions, and funded youth initiatives with substantial resources.* This is true of all five nations in this study, although somewhat less so for Australia than the European countries.

The content of youth policies and programs is generally covered in the preceding section on goals (while policy structure and funding are covered in the following section), but it might be worthwhile to emphasize here that *programming tends to be developmental, broadly based, inclusive, and participative.* In contrast, U.S. youth policy is more oriented toward remediation of individual difficulties rather than broad development and socialization.

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The underlying philosophy of youth policy might have four key elements: (1) a focus on growth and development of youth within a variety of contexts; (2) attention to the totality of development and functioning as opposed to a single facet; (3) adherence to a model of social competence rather than a pathology-based model; and (4) centered on, but not restricted to, day-to-day interaction with youth in their normal environments (adapted from Denholm, 1990, citing Ferguson and Anglin, 1985).

An ideal youth policy would be wide ranging in content. Policy should address the situation of youth within (1) human resource development policy; (2) employment policy; (3) human settlement and environmental policy; (4) the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency; (5) the relationship of youth and culture; (6) youth travel and exchange programs; and (7) the needs of special populations of youth (United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1985, pp. 21–22).

In the five countries studied, these general guidelines have been roughly followed. The result is a complex array of policies and programs, really a tapestry of youth services that affect *most* young people in Norway, Sweden, Germany, and the United Kingdom, and somewhat less so in Australia. For example, the Youth Service in Britain is so involved, institutionalized, and differentiated that nuances and complexities are difficult for an outsider to grasp. An entire youth service structure has been created, with a long history, leaders, legends, competing philosophies, specializations, and sub-specializations (see Booton and Dearling, 1980).

The extensiveness of programming can be quite remarkable by U.S. standards. In the Netherlands, for example, one finds innovative and specialized youth services, and a high degree of coverage of youth in all situations, supported largely from public funds. For example, I know a youth worker in the Netherlands, an educated professional, whose full-time job is to mentor fifteen or twenty college students "to help them to get through." This degree of youth policy involvement might seem excessive on this side of the Atlantic (indeed, we might wonder if this youth worker does not have something better to do, or if he has trouble finding a real job). But it illustrates the very different approach to youth programming between the United States and many European countries.

Structure and Finance

The Public Sector

One important observation in looking at the five countries in this study is that *the federal government of each has identified youth as a broad public responsibility, established a legal and organizational structure within which to address that responsibility, and appropriated funds at a significant level and on a stable basis to carry out youth policies and programs.* In some cases, federal funding has not been the majority funding, but it has been substantial enough to leverage local and voluntary resources and create youth service partnerships guided by federal policy but adapted and implemented by local actors, both public and voluntary.

Among these five countries, federal financial participation is highest in Norway, Germany, and Sweden, and lower in the United Kingdom and Australia. Regarding funding stability, the record has been mostly stable; the major exception is the recent case of the United Kingdom, where resources were cut back during the 1980s. Overall, funding stability is quite different from the uncertain categorical funding that characterizes U.S. public expenditures for youth.

In each of the five countries studied, and many others in Europe, there are local youth boards that are, in one way or another, charged with implementing or overseeing federal policy. Generally, these local public bodies also provide significant financial support. In Finland, for example, there are communal youth boards that operate a broad range of free-time activities, including street work, training, sports, hobby activities, and outdoor recreation. The local boards in Finland are subsidized by the federal government at 20–65 percent of operating costs (George, 1987).

Public-Voluntary Cooperation

The United States has a vibrant voluntary sector, but in terms of planning and coordination, it is largely independent of the public sector. In contrast, *youth policies in all five countries in this study involve explicit public-voluntary cooperation and coordination to an extent that is unknown in the United States.* Each of the five nations has a youth policy structure that explicitly coordinates public and voluntary efforts at all levels. Coordination occurs through both law and organizational structure. This is particularly true in Germany, where cooperation is arranged in a very unique way through the subsidiary principle.

Youth Workers and Training

What is youth work and who are youth workers? It is generally accepted that youth workers are not community development workers, not community educators, not social workers, not probation officers, not psychologists, and not political agitators, but it is not always clear exactly what they are. Advocates of youth work maintain that "youth work demands a specialist level of training, appropriate to the particular tasks it attends to, to its proper skills, and to the contexts within which youth workers

must operate" (Marsland, 1978, p. 125). However, the specification of these tasks is sometimes unclear and varies from country to country.

History

As mentioned previously, voluntary organizations emerged following the Industrial Revolution, and local youth organizations became more common. After a time, national governments began to initiate a wide range of public policies. As these events occurred, the social elites who had initiated youth work began to withdraw. The expanding number of youth organizations created a high demand for youth workers and the ranks were filled with people from all walks of life. (For a history in the United Kingdom, see Smith, 1988.)

In some countries, youth work has taken significant steps toward professionalization. For example, the French *educateurs spécialis* are a professional discipline approximately forty years in existence, stemming from the aftermath of World War II. There was a realization that parentless children needed not only physical care, but also emotional care and behavioral interventions that custodial workers were unable to provide. Teams of young workers were sent to the United States to study social work and short-term education and returned to develop the educateurs spcialis. A national diploma was instituted in 1967 (Barnes and Courbon in Anglin et al., 1990, 301–315).

An Uncertain Knowledge Base

A specific knowledge base for youth work is difficult to identify and, in terms of professional education, it is often quite thin. Fads come and go. *Social education* and *expanded culture* are current favorites.

The concept of social education has roots early in the twentieth century in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Early applications tended toward citizenship education, proper manners, and the like. Later the term was used for active learning, self-direction, and personal choice. The setting for social education became identified as *in society* as opposed to a formal educational institution. Throughout, there has been a decided interest in process and social interactions, focused almost exclusively on the individual and small group. This appears generally true of social education around the globe.

Social education provides only a vague intellectual and methodological base for youth work. At first glance, it sounds appealing—the use of social activities for educational purposes. But social education is rarely subjected to careful inquiry; the knowledge base has not been identified; and there is no visible and growing body of practice methods that can be transmitted through professional training. In some respects, social education has become little more than a rhetorical device. This process-oriented theme has not generated a systematic body of knowledge to help youth workers conceptualize, predict, choose, and act (Smith, 1988). Without such a knowledge base, professional standing remains subject to question.

Professional Training

The essence of professional training in any field is a distinctive and relevant academic curriculum, based on established and transferable knowledge, and integrated with practical field experience under regular supervision by a qualified professional.

In general, training for youth work positions does not meet these standafds. It tends to be diverse, perhaps haphazard. Even in the United Kingdom, only a minority of full-time youth workers are specialist trained: 27 percent have received specialized training; 43 percent are qualified teachers; 17 percent are qualified by alternative routes; and 13 percent are unqualified (Smith, 1988). The majority do not have any particular training in social or informal education. Neither does the diversity of backgrounds create a professional atmosphere of shared language and culture, in particular not one that might value analytical rigor. This is further complicated by the solitary nature of many youth work activities—youth workers are often isolated from one another in small communities or neighborhoods. When they do get together, they exchange frustrations, but may not pay as much attention to professional purpose and practice (Smith, 1988).

The educateur spécialis, mentioned above, is based on a three-year training program which focuses broadly on youth development but incorporates delinquency, mental disturbance, mental deficiency, and physical handicap, which formerly were separate training efforts. The training is half coursework and half applied internship. Evaluation is by written and oral exams, review of a practice journal, and a thesis.

There has been similar development of youth work training in the orthopedagogue of Denmark and the barneverpedagog of Norway. The substantive concept is social pedagogy, a broad view of development. There are also three year programs of study leading to a diploma in child welfare, the basic credential for practice in the profession (Barnes and Courbon in Anglin et al., 1990, 301–315).

In Denmark, there are 22 separate institutions for training fritidshem pedagogs. Entrance is based on competitive application. The major difference from training for formal education is a far greater emphasis on cultural and social learning, and less on academic subjects. Field work is required during the first two years and a major project is undertaken in the final year. For child care staff, three years of training after high school are required to achieve the title of pedagog. Perhaps half of child care staff have this title (Seligson, 1988).

Youth care in Canada is today widely accepted as a field with broad scope, including residential, recreational, school-based, day care, family support, early intervention, youth justice, community-based, institution-based, and so forth. There is a vaguely identified core of knowledge and skills, but practice is specialized in different employment settings. Career paths may cut across settings. Professional associations have been organized in most provinces, and there is a National Association of Canadian Child and Youth Care Workers (Denholm, 1990).

On the international level, the Commonwealth Youth Programme has a certificate program in youth development, correspondence courses, national training courses, information services, and youth study fellowships.

Training for volunteers and part-time workers has also received increasing attention. Desirable principles are that training should grow out of the work itself rather than from academic courses; training should be supervised by full-time youth workers; and assessment should be tough, leading to appropriate selectivity in choosing workers (Marsland, 1978).

Observations from an Experiment in Professional Exchange

In 1983 participants in the International Learning Exchange in Professional Youthwork (ILEX), in joint sponsorship with the Center for Youth Development and Research in Minnesota and Youthorizons in Maine, initiated a development experiment in youth work through collegial affiliation of trained professionals. As part of this program, French educateurs spécialis have worked side-by-side with child care workers in the United States. Based on this experience, the French professionals offered their observations, mostly about residential care, but many of the comments can be applied to other areas of child and youth work as well:

The educateurs spcialis note a lack of specific training in the United States, and absence of a united set of practices that might identify a profession. Instead, American child and youth workers are more defined by the agency or organization. There is no overriding goal or task. French educateurs likened the situation to a famous remark by General DeGaulle, pondering the challenge when he assumed the presidency of the French Republic: "How do you propose to govern a country that has 436 different kinds of cheese?" In the United States, there are many different kinds of child and youth workers: child care workers, residential advisors, group life supervisors, youth life educators, milieu therapists, house parents, cottage workers, child counselors, and more (Barnes and Courbon in Anglin et al., 1990, 301–315). Perhaps this has resulted from an overreliance on an illness model, which has fragmented youth worker activities into numerous specific responses rather than into a coherent profession (Albee, 1968).

Research and Information

As both an intellectual and professional matter, there is limited theory and evidence to document the efficacy of youth services and youth work. Nonetheless, there is an abundance of information. In reviewing youth services around the globe, one is struck by the distinctive characteristics of the information. Different countries have different orientations.

In the United Kingdom, there is a large outpouring of material on youth, oriented principally around the concept of *youth culture*. There are numerous studies on this topic, mostly anthropological in nature. The general point is that young people cannot find jobs, do not fit in, and are creating cultures of their own. The tone is somewhat fatalistic.

One also encounters voluminous studies from Sweden and Germany (not many of them in English), which tend to be oriented toward program evaluation in Sweden, and toward legal structures, organizations, and philosophies in Germany. In Sweden, the tone is ambivalent—that the state should try to do better, but perhaps it is already doing too much. In Germany, the tone is that youth issues are problematic, but if we just think and organize a little better, no doubt we can get control over it.

Swedish youth research is often innovative. For example, note the citywide experiment in Vasteras, cited previously. A major part of the youth research in Sweden has addressed issues arising in the institutions providing services to young people, as opposed to the interests and priorities of the young people themselves. When Swedish scholars do focus on young people, they tend to individualize and psychologize rather than identifying broad social and economic issues. Recently, however, there have been influences from elsewhere, especially feminist theory from the United States, ethnographies of subcultures from the United Kingdom, and social philosophy on modernity from Germany (Wilson, 1991).

In Asia, one senses a growing dismay, a quiet panic. Economic prosperity in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and elsewhere has led to a Westernization of youth culture—it is more individualistic, less traditional, and more consumption-oriented. In these societies, young people have not behaved like this before, and there is considerable concern about what the young people will become as adults. The primary concern seems to be economic: will young people grow up to be productive workers?

Increasing delinquency and other youth problems have not been readily acknowledged in Asia, but this is beginning to change. For example, the Korea Institute for Youth and Children (KIYC) was established in 1989 to study

children and youth ages ten and older. KIYC is financed by the federal government, and there is a strong emphasis on research and evaluation. KIYC will provide direction and coordination for youth research throughout Korea, and they are interested in international studies as well.

In attending a youth policy conference in Moscow in December of 1990, I was amazed at the lack of research sophistication. Noted Soviet social scientists had barely begun to undertake survey research. The research instruments they used were ideologically biased and poorly constructed. Sociologists did not have computers, not even PCs (neither did engineers, journalists, or almost anyone else). The general tone in youth issues was of major transformation, the need to rebuild the economy and society fundamentally. There was a deep and very sad acknowledgement that much of the older generation was spiritually lost, actually violated as human beings under 70 years of state control, and too diminished to carry forward. The younger generation was the only hope. Youth information was beginning to shift from ideology toward actual data (Ilinsky, 1991).

In the so-called less developed countries, attention is on development and how young people fit into development. The general tone is step-by-step economic and social action in nations beleaguered by lack of resources, limited technological development, and inefficient and often corrupt public bureaucracies. In most of these countries, there is limited voluntary sector involvement, except by international agencies. Youth research and information are not well developed. Systematic data, when it exists, may be quite unreliable; in some cases it is simply fabricated for political purposes.

Looking to exemplary youth research efforts, one of the most noteworthy is the Youth Education Studies Centre set up in 1984 within the Centre for Education at the University of Tasmania. The central element is a longitudinal youth cohort study beginning at age 10, with over 21,000 cases in all. There is a particular focus on disadvantaged groups, and the survey content is heavily oriented toward schooling and career choices. The Centre seeks explicitly to use results to influence policies and programs (Youth Education Studies Centre, 1990).

We can welcome recent calls for an international youth and adolescent research network (with the rather appealing acronym of YARN). Along these lines, UNESCO has also begun a worldwide youth information system called INFOYOUTH. Using new information technologies, such networks can connect a wide range of research efforts, joining scholars and practitioners, and building an international information base for both knowledge development and professional practice (Cotterell, 1990).

IV

THOUGHTS FOR THE UNITED STATES

OVERALL, U.S. YOUTH SERVICES ARE LESS PLANNED, LESS COORDInated, less public, less funded, less egalitarian, less comprehensive, and less developmental than in the other nations discussed in this report. This is particularly true in comparison to the European nations—the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, and Norway. Only Australia is somewhat similar to the United States in its less thorough attention to youth issues and youth services. This is perhaps related to Australia's history; like the United States, Australia is a relatively young nation with a frontier tradition, whose social welfare institutions, both public and voluntary, have more shallow roots than in Europe. Even so, all things considered, Australia is more committed and involved in youth services than is the United States.

On the other hand, consistent with our individualistic culture, U.S. youth services are more focused on personal difficulties and deficiencies (e.g., emotional problems, physical disabilities, learning disabilities) than the youth services of other nations. Regarding these specialized areas, the level of professional education and training in the United States is second to none. It might also be said that, because U.S. youth policies and programs are not heavily planned and coordinated from a central authority, community-based services are more innovative and responsive to local needs than in many other countries. Certainly local control and innovation have been hallmarks of social organization in the United States throughout its history.

The recent history of youth-serving organizations in the United States has been both rocky and innovative. Quinn (1991) offers an excellent overview: There have been shifts in funding—notably a further diminution of public support during the 1980s. There have been pronounced demographic changes, especially an increase in the proportion of African-American, Hispanic, Asian, and other non-white youth. As a response, in recent years there have increased efforts to reach underserved populations. Also, we have seen new initiatives to reach younger populations and experimentation with new delivery systems. Remarkably, innovation is sometimes institutionalized (e.g., the Girl Scouts' National Center for Innovation). There has been greater attention to informal education and youth development, enhancing the traditional approach to "recreation." Also, there has been more attention to skills and competences and somewhat less attention to psychological concepts such as self-esteem. With funding pressures, there have been calls for increased accountability, which hopefully will lead to more efficient management and more sophisticated program evaluations.

A Difficult Environment

Like some of the other nations discussed in this report, problems of young people in the United States may be increasing.

The family is under increasing strain. Economically, real incomes over the past two decades have been stagnant on average, and have actually declined at the lower end of the income scale. Demographically, there has been an increase in the number of single parent families, many of which live in poverty. Whether single or married, an increasing proportion of women are employed in the paid labor market, a trend that has certain positive effects for women's status in society, but leaves more children home alone. The numbers of unsupervised "latchkey" children have risen.

Institutionally, U.S. young people are facing what can only be described as a set of enfeebled social institutions. Public education at the primary and secondary levels is a near disaster is many urban school districts. This may not be entirely the "fault" of educational institutions, but rather related to the historic withdrawal of youth labor market opportunities—it may be unrealistic to expect that

schools can single-handedly fill the institutional gap that has resulted from the declining youth labor market (Sherraden 1986, 1991a). On top of this, constrained public funding of social welfare during the 1980s has left many social services overburdened or simply unavailable. The only growth institution in the public sector has been juvenile justice and incarceration—here we are spending money in a most bewildering manner, as if it were a good investment.

Also, at this writing, a significant number of non-profit organizations are in financial trouble. In a slow-growth economy, these problems have been created by declining public revenues (via contract or purchase of service), stagnant donations from corporations and households, and increasing needs for services among clients who are less able to pay.

Similar stresses on the traditional family and social institutions are apparent in other countries as well. In all advanced economies, youngsters must negotiate a long and ever increasing adolescent period. Some countries have recognized these issues and responded with an active youth policy, but the United States has not.

The "At Risk," the Left Out, the "Underclass"

Terms such as "at risk" and "underclass" are not very clear (and may do more harm than good), but the words draw attention to the severely limited environments in which many young people confront their daily lives and diminished futures. The limits of these environments are well-known and their effects are unfortunately easy to predict. For example, Jim Aiken, Commissioner for the Indiana Department of Corrections, estimates future capital budgets by taking the number of urban "at risk" children in the second grade and applying a multiple, which gives him an estimate of the number of future prison cells needed (West, 1991).

Conditions for poor urban minority youth are getting worse. As a nation, we are losing a large number of our young people, and the process starts very early. African-American males are particularly "at risk." I have occasionally visited schools in north St. Louis, where student populations are as much as 99 percent black. My impression—consistent with many recent reports—is that many of the young men are simply not making it, and do not expect to make it (the young women seem to do better). At school, the young men do not pay attention, they fall asleep, they do not have questions, indeed they do not behave as if the educational process has anything to do with them. And these are the young men who are still in school, not yet "dropouts."

My colleagues who are community workers in St. Louis tell me that, while their work has always been challenging, conditions have worsened dramatically during the past ten years. Youth programs have disappeared from the basements of local churches; fathers no longer volunteer to coach sports teams; and crack cocaine has terrifyingly increased the level of violence on the streets.

SCENE ONE: WHERE ALIENATION AND VIOLENCE ARE INCREASING, COMMUNITY BONDS ARE DISSOLVING: In a searching conversation, the director of a large neighborhood organization in the settlement house tradition, a man who has been working in a poor St. Louis neighborhood since the 1950s, says that the situation is getting much worse. Mothers who have been solid community residents for years are now asked to leave their housing because their young male children cannot be controlled. One boy shot twenty bullet holes in the door of the neighboring apartment in a dispute over a few dollars. The director—an internationally-known community worker, a visionary, an originator of creative programs of mutual support among the poor—no longer talks in terms of working with the community or improving the community. Today, his organization is seeking only to do what they can with a few individuals, all of them women, mostly welfare mothers. Teenage and adult males are unemployed and on the streets, but in terms of services, they are completely out of the picture.

SCENE TWO: WHERE THERE IS NO FUTURE, LIFE HAS LITTLE VALUE. On a spring afternoon, two young gang members, ages 15 and 17, speak to an audience at the Mathews-Dickey Boys' Club in St. Louis. They gratefully acknowledge that the Boys' Club is "like a summer vacation," but unfortunately they have to live in their neighborhoods. They say matter-of-factly that they have no choice but to be gang members. If they are not, they will be beaten up, perhaps killed. As gang members, they are forced to sell drugs. They do not think of themselves as dealers; they are only selling for the dealers. The work is extremely dangerous and the dealers treat them as expendable, just another body to sell drugs. If they are murdered, they know someone else will take their place. Both of the young men say that they don't expect to live to the age of 19. They report this matter-of-factly, without emphasis or emotion. It is just the way things are, a fact of life that they accepted long ago.

SCENE THREE: WHERE CRIME IS A WAY OF LIFE, PRISON IS AN ASPIRATION. Six young repeat offenders, ages 13 to 15, are taken in a van from St. Louis to Jefferson City to tour the prison in a version of a "scared straight" program. The hope is to show them how horrible it will be if they continue on their present course. Astoundingly, two of the boys say that they don't think it would be bad to be in prison. In fact, they look forward to it. They have heard all about it. Their neighborhood heroes are there. Prison is clean. There are three meals a day. No problem at all. When told that, because they are so young, they would be bought and sold for sex, they don't think that would be so bad either. In fact, they seem rather proud of the idea that someone would value them enough to buy them and use them.

Perhaps these scenes add some real life meaning to the term "at risk." As the scenes suggest, many U.S. young

people are growing up with little hope and little sense of self. At early ages, they have suffered immeasurable harm, loss of their personal safety and dignity, and severe impairments in social interactions. Their lives, by any traditional measure, are isolated, pitiful, dysfunctional, and sometimes frightening.

Looking at the countries studied in this report, we also find young people with problems. There are problems of poverty and race in the United Kingdom and Australia, and with recent immigration, even in Sweden. Gangs of disaffected young people have appeared in the United Kingdom during the 1980s exhibiting bizarre and destructive behaviors—such as "soccer hooligans" who trash and maim at soccer matches. The recent merger of East and West Germany has created a two-tier society, and neo-Nazi violence on the part of German youth is extremely disturbing. Surely, no country is without problems with young people, and historically these problems have tended to increase as the youth labor market has declined. The extent of these problems is difficult to compare from one country to another. *However, it seems likely that no economically advanced Western nation, not those studied in this report nor any other, has as large a core of young people as alienated from the mainstream culture and economy, and as violently anti-social, as does the United States.*

It is important to remember that these young people were not born violent; they are not inherently anti-social; and evil spirits did not make them bad. They have been shaped by their surroundings. Both family and neighborhood affect a child's behavior. For example, the best predictor of whether a young person will parent a child out of wedlock is whether his or her parents were married. The best predictor of whether a young person will commit a crime is whether there is crime in the neighborhood (Case and Katz, 1991).

But environmental influences work both ways. A few good influences can have substantial positive effects on young people. And this is where community-based youth services can make a difference. But what kind of community-based services, and for whom?

"Targeted" or "Developmental" Youth Services?

The question is: Should community-based youth services be "targeted" on inner-city and other particular areas and problems, or should youth services focus on general youth development for all young people—or are these two ideas not, after all, mutually exclusive?

In the United States, the largest national youth organizations have tended to serve the more advantaged and motivated youth, and have left out the poor and minorities. In other words, we have provided for those who have the resources, are inclined to participate, and are the easiest to work with. *The United States is quite unlike the other nations in this report in that we make so little effort to provide community-based services to poor and minority youth.* This is not to say that youth services alone can solve every social problem in the nation, but the absence of such services certainly contributes to the decline of marginal communities.

Youth issues have seldom been prominent on the U.S. national agenda (a possible exception occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), and certainly not so in recent decades. Although youth problems today appear to be increasing, the nation, as expressed through its policies and programs, is not paying much attention.

Fortunately, a few youth services in the United States have begun to target "at risk" youth. Perhaps these pioneering organizations will begin to advocate changes in public and voluntary polices and programs (Quinn, 1991). In this regard, looking at other countries might give us reason for optimism. Sustained advocacy on the part of youth organizations and youth workers has occurred in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Australia, where there has been an orientation toward social justice and "empowerment." In a more sedate but possibly more effective way, the same can be said of Sweden and Norway, where social equality and comprehensive services have a more firmly established history.

Attempting to reach a broad range of youth does not necessarily mean constructing programming for the poor and disadvantaged around their problems and shortcomings. In the United States, we already have well developed mental health and other services to help resolve individual difficulties for those who can afford such services. But individual therapy and remediation is not a model that should necessarily be adopted in whole cloth for poor and minority neighborhoods. As in Norway, for example, it would be preferable to aim for activities and services that embody normalization, regularization, and integration of daily activities in a more healthy and productive lifestyle. We should think not in terms of once a week counselling sessions, but of activities built into daily routines and structured into institutions that serve young people. *In this fundamental sense, there is no conflict between providing services targeted toward "at risk" young people and, simultaneously, orienting the content and delivery of those services toward general developmental goals.*

On "Attachment" and "Mass Culture"

In the United States, we use words like "targeting" or "reaching" youth for services, words that imply particular recipients of services. Unlike all of the European nations

in this study, we do not use words like "attachment" or "mass culture." Although we do not want urban minority and other "at risk" youth to be alienated from mainstream society, we do not readily think in terms of *attaching* them or purposefully creating a sustaining and healthy youth culture. Our history and values are much too individualistic for that. The American people are fundamentally skeptical of the state or any centralized organization attempting to attach people for any purpose. Indeed, the very roots of the country are in the *avoidance* of such attachments.

Regarding the related idea of a mass culture, it is safe to say that most Americans do not think in these terms. The idea that there are characteristics of social organization—other than the sum of the characteristics of the individuals who make it up—is not a meaningful concept to most people in this country. To put this another way, Americans have very limited sociological imaginations (anyone who has tried to teach sociology or cultural anthropology to U.S. undergraduates may have an appreciation for the near impenetrability of this bedrock American individualism).

In this sense, the United States may be culturally unable to imitate the youth policies and programs of Europe. Nor, given our culture, would this necessarily be desirable.

America has its own cultural strengths and youth policies and programs should build on these. Foremost is the vibrant tapestry of voluntary association in the United States. If we are to think in terms of attachment and affiliation, it will best be in diverse localized versions, relying extensively on commitments, energies, and organizational abilities of people at the local level. And if we are to think in terms of shaping a youth culture, it will best be within this local context. In my view, nothing else is really possible.

Therefore, the key issue in the United States is not so much how to plan and shape a centrally-controlled youth policy—which would not likely be adopted and if adopted would not likely be accepted by the American people—but rather for the federal government and large centralized organizations to develop systems that more energetically support and nurture local association and involvement.

Purposes and Goals

This suggests that the United States should establish only the most general goals at the national level. Unlike Sweden or Germany, for example, we probably should not attempt to construct a finely detailed document of explicit, centralized goals. This is not to say that the United States should have no national goals, but only that the goals should allow for maximum local initiative and creativity.

Each of the five nations in this report has developed national goals in youth policy. These are shaped by national culture and codified into law. Each has an overriding statement of broad goals, setting out what the national youth policy is intended to accomplish. The goals comment in a general way on matters promoting the welfare of the young and helping them develop into independent, contributing adults.

In the United States, we do not have such a broadly-accepted policy statement (there is a very good statement in the Young Americans Act, but it is not well known and it is not funded at a level at which it might have meaningful influence). Of course, youth policy is not unique in this regard. We tend not, in this country, to create social policy goals in a comprehensive, proactive manner. For example, the United States has never really had a labor market policy or an education policy. Instead, we tend to leave matters flexibly to the economic market or to the states, or to create particularistic policies in response to rather narrowly perceived problems. Thus, we do have an identifiable runaway policy, a drug policy, and a policy on disabilities.

Although the United States has generally avoided broad centrally-defined social policy goals, *a basic and minimum requirement for building a youth policy in America will be a simple statement of purpose, adopted by the national government, saying that our intention as a nation is to develop the character and capacity of all of our young people so that they can lead fulfilling lives and become independent and productive citizens.*

There is a surprising consistency in studies of what U.S. young people say they *want* out of youth programs—"fun" and "friends." As Quinn (1991) thoughtfully comments, "these seem like reasonable requests, and we should listen carefully. However, these factors probably represent necessary but insufficient criteria for program design." When asked what they *need*, young people mention information and counseling on sexuality, life skills, career education, as well as an opportunity to be with peers and to do something useful in their communities. Regarding youth program goals, the Center for Early Adolescence lists diversity, self-exploration, participation, interaction with peers and adults, physical activity, competence and achievement, and limits in structured activities (cited by Quinn, 1991). These program goals should be joined with broader policy goals.

Let us turn to brief observations on the policy goals discussed in the preceding section of this report. These are benefits to participants, commonweal concerns, society and state interests, social justice, education and economic development, and international understanding.

Benefits to Participants

Youth policy in America, to the extent that it can be identified as a coherent policy, has three major components—welfare state services, non-profit and private pro-

fessional therapies, and the programs of voluntary associations. The first two of these are oriented strongly toward providing some benefit (treatment might be a better word) to participants in response to perceived deficiencies or problems. Under the labels of these various problems, services tend to be fragmented.

Turning first to the piecemeal categories of the U.S. welfare state, youth policies (other than educational policies, which are the responsibility of the states) are almost exclusively need-based or problem-based rather than universal. The main policies and programs are (1) Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which provides for economic welfare, narrowly defined; (2) Medicaid, which provides medical care for some needy children; (3) foster care, which seeks to find stable family living arrangements for children who, for one reason or another, cannot live with their family of origin; (4) protective services, which seek to protect abused and neglected children and youth; (5) juvenile courts and delinquency services, which seek some mixture of social control and welfare services; (6) various institutional settings to serve those with mental illness, mental retardation, and blindness (in the late 20th century, institutional settings other than for juvenile justice are in decline); and (7) quite limited youth employment and job training programs for older youth.

The non-profit and private sectors also offer a wide range of professional therapies for emotional difficulties, drug and alcohol abuse, and other problems. To a large extent, these therapies are supported by fees and private insurances, but increasingly by purchase of service from the federal government. The largest single trend in human services in the United States during the past 20 years has been the movement of the public sector out of direct service provision and into purchase of service from the non-profit and private sectors (Sherraden, 1990).

Thus, welfare state services and professional therapies make up a large portion of youth policy in America. Very little of this policy is attempting to foster general personal or social development, sound personhood, or active citizenship. *The evidence suggests that the overriding goal of youth policy in the United States is assistance, remediation, or control of individual problems. In this regard, the United States is dramatically different from the five nations studied in this report.* The other nations tend to have more universal welfare state services, such as universal children's allowances and youth clubs open to all, and to rely much less extensively on professional therapies for resolving youth problems.

The voluntary associations have different goals. Altogether, 500 or more youth organizations serve at least 30 million young people in the United States each year. These organizations are mostly in the non-profit sector. The major organizations are a century or more old and are national in scope. The primary goals of youth organizations in the United States have been the building of character and transmission of cultural values through wholesome, often physical, activities. The larger youth organizations—Scouts, 4-H, Boys Clubs and Girls Clubs, YMCA and YWCA—have traditionally emphasized developing character and leadership, although programming varies a great deal. In addition, there are countless local organizations of every purpose and variety. In terms of format, youth activities are typically carried out in small groups of young people, under the supervision of a volunteer adult who often does not have professional training (Erickson, 1986).

Thus, in various ways, the voluntary organizations seek to address the development needs of adolescents, not in a problem-focused way, but more in terms of sound personal and social development. Along these lines, Baizerman (1988) eloquently reminds us that adolescence is not a medical condition, but a story in process, the transformation from childhood to adulthood. These developmental goals are similar to the primary youth policy goals of most other nations. Much can be learned from other countries regarding programming for normal personal development and social development, informal education, political education, and the like (see also "commonweal concerns" below).

Americans are a direct and straight-forward people, but personal development is not necessarily something that can be addressed directly. I wonder sometimes if this is the problem in the United States; we have a plethora of therapies trying to pin down and solve personal problems, when it might often be preferable to take a less direct approach through various forms of constructive engagement. If a youth services program, whatever its purpose or orientation, is genuine and constructive, personal development can be built into it, and to some extent, will take care of itself. The youth programs of Norway provide an excellent example of this approach. The primary Norwegian emphasis is on sports, but sports are used as a context within which a wide range of personal development goals are achieved.

Although not covered in this report, Israel provides another good example. Youth programs in Israel tend to be well integrated into the main functions of the society, and young people are expected to take charge and make decisions at early ages. There is no direct discussion of personal development, but rather of serving the community and the country. The participation and responsibilities are genuine, and this has been a key to early maturation of young Israelis, who are often said to "grow up faster" than young people in the United States and other countries.

In advanced industrial societies, adolescence has become extended and structured opportunities for responsible roles at earlier ages have diminished. Because these are highly desirable for reasons of personal devel-

opment, one goal of youth services should be to create such responsibilities. When such opportunities are available and genuine, young people have an opportunity and expectation to stretch and grow into more mature roles (Eberly and Sherraden, 1990).

Commonweal Concerns

Although economic news dominates the media, and economic language dominates intellectual discussion, materialist modes of thinking cannot adequately account for collective problem solving in a democratic nation (Janowitz 1975; Etzioni, 1988). It is not only, or even primarily, economic growth that has made America great, but mutual participation and involvement by its citizens. In the economic language that is popular today, it is not only the development of financial capital and human capital that is required, but the development of social capital as well. Without this, America comes unglued.

In undertaking a cross-national comparison, the voluntaristic tradition in America stands out strongly. No country in this study matches the American affinity for voluntary association. However, the U.S. system of association has been distinctly segmented by class and race. In a diverse nation with strong racial tensions, there is a need for patterns of association that cross these barriers. Thus, a focus on cultural integration may be particularly desirable in U.S. youth policy at the present time.

Given the current widening of the economic gap between whites and blacks, especially white and black young people, and given the rapid growth in the population of Hispanics, it is possible—some would say likely—that serious cultural rifts may arise in the future. Also, there is a possibility that, as the Baby Boom ages and begins to draw an ever-larger portion of public resources, there will be growing discord between the old and the young. Under these circumstances, it may be wise for U.S. policy-makers to anticipate more serious cultural divisions and create youth policies and programs that begin to ameliorate them (Eberly and Sherraden, 1990).

In 1830, Tocqueville sadly predicted that, if anything, the problem of race would ultimately be the undoing of America. He did not foresee that the wounds of slavery could ever be overcome. In retrospect, this insight looks astoundingly accurate. If Tocqueville is to be proven wrong in the long term, considerably stronger institutional structures for mutual involvement and promotion of understanding and tolerance will be required. Youth services designed to bridge racial and class differences would be a constructive step in this direction (Eberly and Sherraden, 1990).

Along these lines we can learn at least a little by looking to Europe, where there have been recent calls for integrated youth programs designed to promote solidarity between generations, and reduce inter-ethnic conflict (Robbins and Room, 1990). However, the goals of youth programs elsewhere have not always embraced cultural integration and political tolerance. Norway is a noteworthy exception; Norwegian youth programs vigorously attempt to involve everyone. Another exception is Germany, where inter-group tolerance is an explicit goal of youth policy (looking at recent inter-ethnic violence in Germany, it certainly needs to be). Canada has occasionally done an exemplary job of integrating Francophone and Anglophone youth populations to improve inter-ethnic understanding.

An additional comment on cultural integration in youth programs: In our community in St. Louis, and I suspect in other places as well, youth programs are a major vehicle for *adult* interracial and interclass contact as well. Little league baseball games, girl scouts, and other activities involve parents as well as children. These are among the few arenas where adults of different race and class gather informally, talk about their children, compare notes on the local school, and discuss community affairs.

Another commonweal theme is citizenship in the sense of making contributions to the community and country. To foster both citizenship and personal development, the focus should be on *youth as resources*, emphasizing involvement and participation (National Crime Prevention Council, 1988; Henriksson, 1991; Sherraden, 1991a). Along these lines, tapping youthful energy was a main theme of William T. Grant Foundation reports on the *Forgotten Half* (1988). This theme fits with American tradition of participation and voluntarism. In my view, none of the five countries in this report does a good job of this, especially for the 10 to 15 year age range.

What would be required is an expansion of community service aspects of scouting and other youth organizations, and perhaps a community service requirement in public education. Some U.S. school systems, such as Atlanta's, have begun to experiment with such requirements. Along these lines, Dorothy Stoneman suggests a system of community service activities in every community, starting at grade three and continuing to 21 years of age, employing youth to tackle the most glaring and visible problems in society (in Treanor, 1990).

State Control

Fortunately, with the exception of the Hitler Youth of the 1930s, state incorporation and control have not been prominent in youth programs in the five countries studied. But this possibility remains ever-present in all countries.

For example, I have noted with considerable alarm policy proposals such as a "national youth academy" for anti-social youth in the United States—especially, one suspects, *minority* anti-social youth. With all the talk of an urban "underclass" in the United States at this writing, there is a genuine threat that a program of youth services

might be used to control this population more than to facilitate its advancement. Samuel Proctor (1989) has proposed a "national youth academy with 50 campuses on inactive military bases" serving an estimated 250,000 "unsocialized pupils."

Such proposals arise as problems with the youth population, especially drug use and the violent crime associated with it, grow worse. The authors of such proposals are undoubtedly well-intentioned; however, if implemented, such measures could become tools of state repression and control (Eberly and Sherraden, 1990). The longer U.S. policy-makers delay in the creation of a *constructive* youth policy, the more likely we are to see potentially controlling varieties appear in policy discussions.

Social Justice

The social justice rhetoric under the label of "democratic youth participation" that is prominent among European sociologists is not likely to be of much value on this side of the Atlantic. To talk about youth as an oppressed class in need of power sharing would strike most Americans as left-wing posturing, a bit silly and irrelevant. However, social justice remains a highly desirable goal. In this regard, organizations and activities that are truly democratic and youth-led do provide models from which we can learn.

More importantly for the United States, many of our existing youth service programs are significantly biased in underserving poor and minority youth. This is perhaps the single biggest issue in U.S. youth policy, and one on which we can learn a great deal from the five nations studied in this report. In each of these nations, youth policy is viewed as a *comprehensive* strategy with the goal of providing services and involving *all* young people. This is not to say that each of these countries is entirely successful in this regard, but at least there is an effort toward social equality.

In the United States, to our long-term detriment, we have no such comprehensive policy. In many disadvantaged and "at risk" neighborhoods, youth programs are disappearing. As neighborhoods become more dysfunctional, the local community is strained in providing a youth recreation center at the church, a director for the singing group, or coaches for sports teams. Unless there is a purposeful public and voluntary strategy for providing community-based youth services, it seems quite likely that the prospects for young people in these communities will continue to deteriorate.

Education and Economic Development

The nations most directly studied in this report have not placed economic development as a central goal in youth policy, although it often may be understood to serve this long-term purpose. Germany is somewhat of an exception in acknowledging directly that young people are the source of the nation's future economic productivity, and emphasizing broad education and training outside of the traditional classroom setting.

In the United States, we do not seem to have this viewpoint, perhaps not even in our formal educational systems (if judged by their performance), and much less so in youth services. Given the competitive nature of the world economy, this situation should change. *Youth services should be seen as one important facet of human capital development. In this regard, such services should not be viewed as an expenditure and cost, but as an investment.*

International Understanding

The U.S. Peace Corps is perhaps the world's most well-known example of an international program for older youth and adults, but we have not done quite as well for younger adolescents. Germany, the United Kingdom, and Australia have many more international ties in youth programs for young people.

It would be desirable for the United States to build on the Peace Corps foundation by creating internationally-oriented programs for younger adolescents as well. These need not involve extensive international travel, but might include activities such as visits to a Mexican-American or Japanese-American home for a meal; culturally-oriented drama, sports, or literature; language training; or short-term exchanges. In this regard, Germany's model of purposeful international education and experience for young people is one of the more developed.

Policies and Programs

In looking at other countries, one of the most remarkable realizations is that they actually *have* youth policies. These youth policies have histories, structures, committees, ministries, reports, programs, research, reviews, innovations, critics, and supporters. Youth policy and programs are a reality of national life in a central and substantive way that is quite different from the United States, where youth policy and programs are marginalized.

In a perfectly rational world, the main steps in the establishing of a national youth policy might be (1) establishing a definition of youth and definitions of appropriate subcategories of youth; (2) identification of needs and expectations of youth; (3) establishment of a quantitative and qualitative profile of the social, economic, cultural, and political characteristics of youth; (4) assessment of elements in existing national policy that constitute a general orientation toward youth policy; (5) identification and evaluation of various governmental and non-governmental programs of concern to youth; (6) formulation and

adoption of these policies as a national youth policy; (7) diffusion of policy documents and associated statements; (8) establishment of institutional arrangements and procedures designed to secure the effective integration of youth policy into national development; (9) implementation of policy measures; and (10) regular evaluation, assessment, and readjustment of national youth policies (United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1985, pp. 23–24).

Logical planning, coordination, and integration all sound desirable, and to some extent, each of the five countries in this report has taken steps along these lines. However, as we have seen, they are not necessarily easy to achieve. A great deal of resources can be drawn into planning and coordination, occupying a great many professionals, without improving the conditions of young people. Moreover, a cumbersome planning process is not likely to be adopted in the United States—perhaps especially not during a global collapse of socialist central planning. *In some way, America will require a process that is less procedural, less centrally controlled, and more lively and creative.*

All countries are different and youth policies must be tailored to fit particular cultural, social, economic, and political environments. We can rely on other countries for ideas and suggestions, but these must be shaped to fit national circumstances. In the United States, it is not likely that the federal government will play a major role in defining or funding community-based youth programs. In this regard, we are not likely to become like Sweden, or Germany, or even Australia. However, *the U.S. government should do two minimal things: (1) adopt a statement of youth policy purpose, and (2) create a public-voluntary body that gathers information, sets broad goals, produces action plans, and coordinates existing public and voluntary youth services.* Based on this foundation, local voluntary initiatives are more likely to contribute to a broad direction in youth policy.

Elements of a Youth Policy

Looking at other nations, we can identify the minimum elements for a successful youth policy in the United States: (1) a statement of policy purpose; (2) an identified public agency to oversee youth policy; (3) an active voluntary sector in partnership with public bodies; (4) widespread and readily available youth programming; (5) youth worker training; and (6) national publications that cover youth issues and provide information to the youth population. Most of these points are addressed in other sections of the report. Here we focus on the organization and content of youth programs.

Availability of Services

Our twelve year-old girl attends a music group before school, classes at the local arts center, and Girl Scouts. In the summer she goes to YMCA camp for two weeks and enrolls in drama and other special summer programs in the city. Our eight year-old boy goes to "Save the Earth Club" before school, plays soccer and baseball in the city leagues, and goes to Cub Scouts. He also enrolls in summer programs (he hasn't yet mustered the courage to leave home for summer camp). These are significant non-school arenas of involvement, skill training, personality development, social interaction, and cultural integration. This pattern of youth services seems quite satisfactory to our family. To tell the truth, it is about all we can keep up with. What then is the problem?

The problem is availability and accessibility. Scouting and organized sports are not available in all neighborhoods. Special classes and enriching summer programs are expensive. And even if there is enough money in the home, it is a big job to investigate, locate, get information, select, make arrangements, keep track, and transport children to these various activities.

What is required is affordable, diverse, and intensive youth opportunities, located where people live. We should bear in mind Schorr's (1989) finding that social programs with the greatest chance of success are intensive, comprehensive, and flexible. Dryfoos (1990) also reports that effective interventions are well integrated into their communities, working collaboratively with the schools, parents, youth agencies, and voluntary organizations. Looking at the five nations studied in this report, a common theme is to connect, bridge, relate, and avoid isolation, regardless of where people live. In the United States, we do not always have community-wide services. Instead, we have fragmented and irregular youth services.

If we want to encourage positive development for U.S. young people, we should build a strong foundation of local organizations, youth clubs, sports teams, and the like. Clubs and organized activities are a vehicle to take on challenging roles and develop relationships with peers, older youths, and adults. This foundation of youth activities should form not merely a safety net, but a thick tapestry of youth programs and involvements in *all* communities, available to *all* youth.

Content of Youth Services

In the United States, we have some of the world's best problem-oriented youth organizations—the greatest variety of group homes, run away shelters, alcohol and drug prevention and treatment services, and so on. These programs are well and good, but given restricted resources, it would be preferable to de-emphasize delinquency and deviancy and promote developmental youth programming that provides active experience, normal interpersonal relationships, skill learning, democratic involvement, and contributions to the community.

For example, Norwegians spend money on youth cultural programs, while in the United States we spend money on drug and alcohol prevention programs. When viewed from an international perspective, it seems almost bizarre to build youth services around crime and drugs. In the United States, for example, we spend about $650 million annually in public funds on drug prevention in the schools (in our children's school district, two police officers are paid full-time to do this work). We spend at least $2 billion annually on problem-oriented youth programming, not including the juvenile justice system. We could better use some of this money for developmental programming.

It is important as well to move beyond the idea of attachment or affiliation. This concept can too easily deteriorates into simply keeping young people busy, the absorption of leisure time. A better concept is *involvement*, particularly involvement that leads to genuine experience, real achievement, and preparation for the future. There are many ideas and examples to choose from.

One good example of concrete achievements is the Juvenile Awareness Education Program in Wilmington, Delaware, which requires a rite of passage by completing the following tasks: stay in school, establish an educational objective and achieve it, read the autobiography of a famous black leader, complete a business project or work experiences that demonstrates industriousness, demonstrate the ability to save money and account for a full month's financial activities, complete a community volunteer project, create and carry out a personal program of physical fitness, identify and communicate a "life philosophy" in writing and verbal presentation, complete training to become a counselor to peers, and participate in a spiritual awareness activity (Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation, 1990).

In considering what local youth organizations should emphasize in the United States, a large number of excellent programming ideas are possible. There are, however, a couple that I would like to suggest. *First, we should take a careful look at Norway's emphasis on sports for all.* In modern society, young adolescents do not have sufficient opportunities for regular physical activity or structured group interaction. Sports is an excellent vehicle for these and other developmental activities. Moreover, sports is a natural theme for the United States. In even the most problematic neighborhoods, with or without formal organization, young people engage in sports. Indeed, sports is one of the few dreams still alive in U.S. central cities. This dream is often distorted toward unrealistic hopes for success in the National Basketball Association or the National Football League. However, as so many youth workers have discovered over the years, sports provide a foundation upon which many aspects of youth development can be nurtured.

Second, for local youth programming, I would suggest a *greater emphasis on financial skills and acculturation into mainstream economic life*, an area that is hugely neglected in formal education in the United States and tends to be almost totally absent in impoverished families and neighborhoods. In this regard, it would be very desirable to develop more youth programs oriented toward activities such as savings, investment, and starting and operating small businesses. This too is a natural direction for the United States. We are historically a capitalistic, entrepreneurial nation, more fascinated by money than many other cultures. In my view, it is unwise to neglect this basic American theme.

Adaptation and expansion of Junior Achievement, school-based banking, and other business and financially-oriented programs should be encouraged. To some extent, recent entrepreneurial youth programming in Australia provides interesting examples. To take one possibility, I would like to see special savings accounts for post-secondary education, perhaps called Individual Development Accounts (IDAs), for every young person in America. Youth programming could be built, in part, around funding IDAs, making investment decisions, and undertaking financial planning exercises to meet future life goals (Sherraden, 1991b). A proposal for IDA demonstrations has been introduced in the Congress and in several states.

There are, of course, many other possibilities. To some extent, any programming that is enthusiastic and well organized can be successful. Different young people are drawn to different types of programs and the youth policy should provide as many of these alternatives and choices as possible.

Integration with Formal Education

One possibility is to use local schools as a resource for youth services for young adolescents. In some European countries, schools have included broader youth programming. The Carnegie publication *Turning Points* (1989) suggests a middle school transformed into smaller communities for learning, the use of instructional and learning teams, and cooperative learning, all of which would promote curiosity, critical thinking, problem solving, and active citizenship. The report suggests greater connections and cooperation among schools, parents, teachers, and community organizations.

Hamburg (1990) suggests life-skills training, both school-based and community-based. Millstein (1988) and Price et al. (1990) suggest school-linked centers to promote health and development. In general, schools must be restructured to connect with learning beyond the classroom. Comer (1988) describes an intervention program in two inner city schools in New Haven that is based on building supportive bonds to draw children, parents, and the school together. He sees the key in promoting psycho-

logical development and social skills to take advantage of educational and other opportunities. In sum, youth services and families should be seen as full partners in the educational process (Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990).

Structure and Finance

What is the legal and financial role of government? What is the role of voluntary organizations? How do public and voluntary organizations work together?

Regarding a legal framework for youth services, it might be helpful to contrast the United States with Germany. The contrast is a very sharp one. In Germany, there is a respect for official structure and legal framework that is simply not found in the United States. The Germans seem to codify everything, and we codify little. They tend to think of the federal government as a problem-solver, and we tend to think of the federal government as irrelevant or even counter-productive. Unlike Germany, for example, it did not occur to the United States to adopt a broad Federal Youth Welfare Act in 1922. We have only recently adopted the Younger Americans Act, which is at this point somewhat of a paper exercise, without sufficient funding or mechanisms to become effective.

Without a minimum legal framework at the federal level that outlines purposes and responsibilities, and sufficient funding to implement the framework, it is difficult to envision how the U.S. public sector can coordinate even its own youth programs, and in fact it does not do so. There is no body or process through which to assess and evaluate expenditures. Goals and expenditures are created almost willy-nilly as a political response to perceived problems—teen pregnancy, AIDS, gangs, or whatever. Each problem, as it reaches the headlines, may create a categorical expenditure. Thus, U.S. youth policy is essentially reactive and left to chance—or left to the "political market" or "social market" if one chooses to imply, through economic imagery, that there is some logic or organization in the process.

In Norway, Germany, and Sweden, the federal government provides, directly or indirectly, a huge portion of the funding for youth policy and programs. In the United Kingdom and Australia, the level of funding is lower, but significant. For the most part, this funding supports a local network of community youth services, oriented toward personal and social development. Realistically, we probably cannot expect the U.S. government, at least in the near future, to fund new youth policy to a large extent. However, we can question whether the existing pattern of U.S. expenditures—with so much going to deviance, problems, and deficiencies—is wise. *A portion of this funding would be better spent to support general developmental youth services, making a greater effort to establish youth programs in every neighborhood and community in the country.*

In order to do this, *small federal expenditures, if stable over the long term, could be used to stimulate and leverage state and local public participation, as well as partnerships with the voluntary sector. What is needed is a stable, reliable source of public funding,* such as a fixed percentage of educational or juvenile justice expenditures, so that effective local programming can become part of the community fabric.

Regarding public-voluntary cooperation, the United States should create a National Coordinating Committee for Youth. The purpose of the Coordinating Committee would not be to provide central planning, which is not likely to be effective in the United States, but rather to provide a central vision. In addition to facilitating ties between the public and voluntary sector, this committee should (1) document the nation's youth situation, (2) embark on public education programs on the need for youth participation as a national priority, (3) encourage comprehensive development of pre-service and in-service training, (4) mobilize private sector volunteer and financial support, (5) encourage youth journalism and mainstream journalism to cover youth issues and innovative programs, and (6) help to build academic centers devoted to youth issues and programs (Treanor, 1989).

The United States is decentralized by culture and politics. We should not attempt a highly centralized, planned youth policy. Instead, we should provide a framework and support for local initiatives. We do have a fabric of local voluntary associations, including Sunday Schools, summer camp, museums, after school clubs and athletics, and youth organizations. But these non-formal settings have received limited academic and policy scrutiny, and we have little appreciation for the network of local programming—youth clubs, sports clubs, ecology clubs, and the like (Erickson, 1986). *This core of local programming should be substantially expanded and extended to all communities to form a tapestry of affiliations that involves and supports young people in their communities. In other words, the policy goal should not be money for every problem, but developmental programs for every neighborhood.* Local programs are, after all, the heart of youth policy in many European countries. At the local level, Sweden, Norway, and the United Kingdom can contribute a great deal of organizational "know how" in the expansion of these services. In these countries, there is a long tradition of community-based youth services, developed over the past 40 to 50 years and not questioned throughout the post-War period.

In addition, though not widely recognized, New York State has had a system of local youth boards since 1944. The experience in New York has been, in some respects, quite successful, particularly in mid- to small-size communities. Also, several states have systems of community

planning boards for youth. These models should be studied for possible application elsewhere.

Youth Workers and Training

In undertaking research for this report, I talked with Stanley Bendet of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, who offered an observation that summarized the difference between Western Europe and the United States in youth work personnel: "Youth workers from other countries often come looking for their counterparts in the United States, but they never find them."

We do not have professionals who call themselves youth workers. Child and youth work is unconceptualized and lacks coordination. It is dominated by the place of employment rather than by a set of professional standards and practices. Child and youth workers typically take on roles and practices as determined by the agencies where they are employed.

The Nature of Youth Work

Youth work is a complex, intense, and dynamic job accompanied by a high level of uncertainty. Not everyone likes to work with this population. "Few adults are inherently comfortable with the role of shared leadership that work with young adolescents requires" (Quinn, 1991). Also, youth work positions tend to be underpaid in United States; they are among the least-paying jobs of graduating social workers. Nonetheless, youth workers must be highly skilled in many areas—organizationally, programmatically, and interpersonally. The required effort, concern, time, and energy can be immense; many youth work positions are nearly all-absorbing.

Not surprisingly, there is great turnover in child and youth work positions. Qualified personnel are often very difficult to find. The only career stability and reasonable level of remuneration results from moving into administration and policy development. There have been calls for improved career opportunities in direct practice in child and youth work, and models have been offered (e.g., VanderVen in Anglin et al., 1990, 331–345; and Denholm in the same volume, 347–359). *Development of direct practice career ladders with increasing responsibility, recognition, and compensation will be essential if youth work is to overcome rapid turnover.* In this regard, we have something to learn from Germany, the United Kingdom, and Sweden.

An Emerging Profession?

Youth services in the therapy mold is dominated by a panoply of developmental psychologists, clinical social workers, family counselors, and other psychotherapists. Each of these is organized as a profession, sub-profession, or semi-profession. Is child and youth work emerging as a distinctive profession or semi-profession in the United States? Possibly, but this emergence is not very developed and, for those interested in promoting youth work as a distinctive profession, there is a long way to go before this goal is achieved (Anglin et al., 1990, p. 165).

Similar to the case of Australia, not everyone in the United States would agree that greater professionalization of youth work is desirable (this debate does not occur nearly as much in Europe). There is a perceived tension between becoming "too professional" and the need to relate personally and collaboratively with young people and their families (see Powell in Anglin et al., 1990, 177–186). This is a familiar debate in the emergence of any human service profession.

While the point is well-taken, it would be short-sighted to abandon the idea that youth work requires distinctive skills and abilities that can be taught is a systematic way to address genuine needs.

Education and Training

Ideally, we would develop a national perspective on youth professionals and establish educational standards defining a youth work training curriculum. However, as we have seen looking at other countries, the content of this curriculum remains largely undefined, and there are many opinions about what it should be. For example, Anglin et al. (1990) would include applied ethics, integration of research and practice, the need for flexibility, and cultural diversity. This list, like many others, does not give a very clear picture of what youth workers should know how to *do*—and doing something distinctively well is, after all, the primary rationale for the existence of a profession.

In my view, *the most promising course for developing youth work training in the United States is through social work education* (as a social work educator, I acknowledge a bias here). The majority of youth workers who have professional training in the United States, particularly at the master's level, are social workers. Social work training has identified concrete skills that are used by youth workers. At my university, for example, we have a concentration at the master's level in children and youth. This concentration includes theoretical foundations, social policy, practice methods, research, and field practicum, all oriented toward children and youth. Many schools of social work have similar educational programs. It is also safe to say that social work has stood out, among all other human service professions in the United States, in its commitment to racial and ethnic diversity, social justice, and serving disadvantaged communities.

This is not to say that social work achieves these goals perfectly, but the goals are clearly articulated, and profes-

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sional educational programs are held accountable to these standards. To my knowledge, no other human service training program can make a similar claim. *However, if social work education is to be adapted for training developmentally-oriented youth workers, the curriculum will need to shift away from pathology and deviance and toward normal development.* In this regard, it would be desirable for social work to revisit and recapture an emphasis on working with groups and recreation that was at one time a hallmark of the profession.

Turning to non-degree training, interesting possibilities are presented in looking at other countries. *To meet a variety of pre-service and in-service training needs, youth work educational programs should address the needs of part-time adult learners at different skill levels and with different training needs.* This can occur through educational resource networks and short training programs. The varied and intensive youth work training opportunities available in Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, for example, are largely without counterpart in the United States. However, many U.S. organizations do have relatively good in-service youth work training, and these programs can serve as models for developing more comprehensive, on-going, and institutionalized youth work training. Also, some U.S. human service activities do have on-going training and certification processes that keep practitioners abreast of developments in the field (extensive and varied training in family therapy comes to mind). Youth worker training programs should take these as useful examples.

The exchange of youth workers is very promising. In this paper, the experiment of French educateurs visiting the United States is mentioned. Surely it is now time for U.S. youth workers to visit France and many other countries as well. From such visits we can gain new perspectives on policy design and programming. Visits should be to both developed and underdeveloped countries. Unfortunately, conditions in U.S. central cities are often similar to those in underdeveloped countries, and in this regard, we have much to learn from visiting youth projects in Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and elsewhere. Along these lines, the American Youth Work Center has been a pioneer in promoting international partnerships among youth service agencies in the United States and other countries.

Research and Information

In the United States, the research and practice worlds in youth studies and services tend to be far apart. For example, we have a Society for Research in Adolescence with over 800 members that hosts a biennial conference and sponsors a journal, but this information does not easily find its way to practitioners. *Ideally, we should bridge research and practice to build theory-based and empirically-supported interventions.*

This relates to a somewhat different, but very crucial, point of difference between youth research in the United States and the other countries in this report. Youth research dollars in the United States are weighted very heavily toward problems and pathologies. It is relatively easy to find research funding to study adolescents and drugs, adolescents and AIDS, or adolescents and crime. But there is much less funding to study ordinary development, adolescent time use, daily activities, social relations, or youth aspirations.

Nor is there very much research support in the United States to study the wide range of organizations, sports teams, arts groups, and other associations and services that are so important at the community level in fostering healthy adolescent development. It would be difficult to underestimate the lack of funding. A researcher working in an urban area, for example, can more easily obtain one million dollars to study youth purse snatching than one thousand dollars to study youth theatre and dance groups. This is a dreadful misallocation of research dollars. Unfortunately, it becomes a vicious circle—the more we study problems, the more we spend on problems; the less we study solutions, the less we spend on solutions. *Youth research funding organizations—including public bodies, private foundations, and private corporations—should place a far greater emphasis on studying ordinary youth development and successful community-based youth services.* In this regard, we can learn a great deal from other countries. The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, sponsor of the current project, provides an excellent example of this more constructive youth research in the United States.

Along these lines, we have several fine youth study centers in the United States oriented primarily toward youth problems, but we do not have many well-developed centers for youth *services* research. We should create more of the latter. For example, the Youth Education Studies Centre (YESC) in Australia provides a good model. The focus of the YESC is on ordinary youth development, longitudinal research, and applied, action-oriented studies.

Also, there is currently no satisfactory information network to make research readily available to practitioners and other researchers. As mentioned above, a positive step in this direction is currently underway worldwide by UNESCO, which is creating a system called INFOYOUTH. *It would be desirable for the United States, with its advanced communications capabilities, to assume a leadership position in developing such a network, both within our national boundaries and worldwide.* This, however, would require a degree of coordination that is only possible through a National Coordinating Committee or similar body (see above).

Publications

In many countries, there is a steady stream of practical publications oriented toward developmental youth services, while in the United States, publications tend to be academic, psychological, and problem-oriented. The major U.S. focus is on individuals and pathologies, and not so much on policies, programs, services, and youth work. However, several U.S. publications are more practical, such as *The Journal of Child and Youth Care Work*, *The Child and Youth Care Administrator*, *Child and Youth Care Quarterly*, *Child and Youth Services Review*, *Residential Group Care and Treatment*, *Special Services in the Schools*, and *Youth Work World*. Although these publications are decidedly problem-oriented, they should be supported and encouraged to move toward more general developmental themes.

Additional youth service magazines and journals are needed. Ideally, these would connect research with practice. An excellent model is *Youth Studies*, published quarterly in Australia by the National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies, centered at the University of Tasmania. *Youth Studies* is an informative combination of thoughtful scholarship and practical application. It is an attractive, high quality publication. Articles are based on research, clearly written, and jargon free. There are articles from historical and international perspectives, as well as announcements of upcoming meetings, updates on policy and program developments, examples for practitioners, abstracts of important publications, conference reports, book reviews, and lists of information sources. There is nothing like it in the United States.

The Outlook from Here

Unlike all of the other countries studied in this report, no systematic youth policy exists in the United States. It would be highly desirable for the United States to move toward a comprehensive, broadly-based policy, emphasizing personal development and constructive involvement of young people in the affairs of their communities.

Of course, the barriers to developing a youth policy are many. These include the prominence of deviance and pathological theories in sociology and psychology, sensationalized media attention to youth problems and less to youth accomplishments, overly specialized services, overly categorical funding, unstable funding, lack of coordination among programs, lack of professional identification among youth workers, and absence of political organization to promote policy changes. But these barriers should not be particularly intimidating. They are not much different from the barriers facing other types of social services in the United States.

The larger barrier, in my view, is a matter of national will. In youth services, as many other things, there are two Americas. Some American youth have services and opportunities, and others do not. In the Other America (it is even more separate today than when Michael Harrington pointed it out in 1962), drugs and violence are common, schools are in dismal repair, there are few organized sports teams, there are few dads to coach, and there is seldom a youth program at the church. To have even a chance of success in these communities, comprehensive youth programming must connect education, the family, and the community. It must be a long-term, stable involvement. There are no quick-fix solutions (Stoneman in Treanor, 1990).

Unfortunately, in the political and economic climate that prevails at this time, it seems doubtful that we will gather the national will to address these problems directly. Few politicians of either major party are saying that we should help the poor, fight racial prejudice, or save the cities.

On the other hand, most politicians are saying we must educate all of our young people in order to be competitive in the world economy. Therefore, *a national movement toward a comprehensive youth policy should build on this widespread concern for education and development of human capital. In this regard, the concept of informal or experiential education, which is so prominent in European youth services, would* be a strong organizing theme for the United States. This strategy would involve greater connections and coordination with formal educational programs and facilities. Unlike some of the programs in Europe, however, the content of informal education in the United States, if it is to be accepted and funded, must be clearly defined and prove its worth in terms of skill development, school performance, economic outcomes, and active citizenship.

On the hopeful side, elements of this theme are emerging in discussions of youth and youth services in the United States. More people are focusing on young people as solutions rather than as problems. More are looking toward the strengths of youth, rather than solely at their deficits. More are seeing young people as participants rather than as recipients. These perspectives are exemplified in the work of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, W.T. Grant Foundation Commission on Youth and America's Future, and the International Youth Foundation, as well as studies and reports by other influential groups. Altogether, this growing discussion represents a marked change in vision and underlying philosophy. It may set the stage for a dramatic change toward a comprehensive youth policy and developmental youth services in the United States.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

MICHAEL SHERRADEN WAS RAISED IN JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS, and educated at Harvard (A.B., 1970, cum laude) and the University of Michigan (M.S.W., 1976; Ph.D., 1979). Prior to completing his graduate degrees, he directed a residential center for troubled adolescents in Arkansas. Since 1979, he has been on the faculty of The George Warren Brown School of Social Work at Washington University in St. Louis, with visiting professorships at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the National University of Mexico.

Sherraden has published in the areas of social administration, youth policy, employment policy, and welfare policy. He has received support for research from the U.S. Department of Labor, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the National Science Foundation, the Education Commission of the States, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, the Rockefeller Foundation, and other organizations.

Sherraden has undertaken a major study of the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s and, with Donald Eberly, has written *The Moral Equivalent of War? A Study of Non-Military Service in Nine Nations* (Greenwood Press, 1990).

Sherraden also conceived the idea of asset-based welfare, which suggests that welfare policy should promote not merely consumption, but also savings and investment. His proposal for Individual Development Accounts, a structured savings plan for the poor, has attracted considerable attention from welfare scholars and policy makers. (See his latest book, *Assets and the Poor: A New American Welfare Policy;* M.E. Sharpe, 1991.)

During 1992–93, as a Fulbright Scholar, Sherraden will undertake a study of domestic policy in Singapore.

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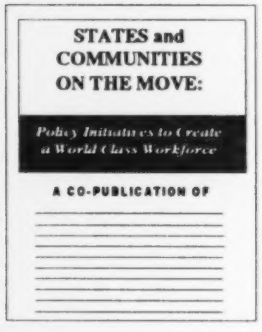

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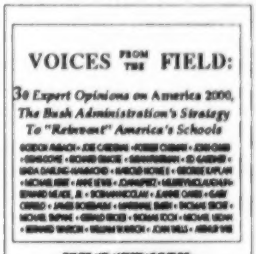
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